

**A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF URBAN SOCIETY
IN EDINBURGH, DUBLIN AND LONDON IN THE
LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY**

James Austin Ferguson

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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ABSTRACT TO

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF URBAN SOCIETY IN EDINBURGH, LONDON AND DUBLIN IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
St. Andrews University, November 1981.

This is a study at a local level of the cities of Edinburgh, London and Dublin. Obviously each city was too large to be studied in its entirety so one parish has been selected from each - the Canongate, St. Bartholomew's the Great and St. Bride's.

The aim is to partly rectify certain weaknesses that have appeared in the study of urban history in the United Kingdom. Despite its long pedigree, the study of urban history has remained the study of single units - few attempts have been made at comparative work. At the same time British urban history has normally meant English urban history. The towns of Scotland and Ireland have been much neglected. The rewards for work in these areas could be very substantial.

Work in Britain has tended to follow certain themes - migration, poor relief or demographic change. Multi-faceted history (as epitomised by the 'Annales d'Histoire Economique et Sociale') has only recently advanced in this country. It is only with this type of study that the researcher can hope to achieve an overall picture of his subject. This also means that he must not look at merely one easily defined group of people such as the aristocracy or merchants, but at the entire population.

While this study takes into account the demography, economic structure and wealth of the parishes, its main interest lies in the secular and ecclesiastical means of control. Priority is given to the operation of the poor law, who was punished and why, plus who controlled the local government machinery and their motives for doing so. It is hoped to show that despite differences in law, politics, religion and local problems, the machinery of government was operated by the same people, in the same way, and for the same reasons in all three capitals.

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF URBAN SOCIETY
IN EDINBURGH, DUBLIN AND LONDON
IN THE LATE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

BY

JAMES AUSTIN FERGUSON

A thesis submitted
for the Degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
at the University of
St. Andrews.

November 1981



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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that the following thesis has been composed by me, that the work of which it is a record has been done by me, and that it has not been accepted in any previous application for a higher degree in the University of St. Andrews or elsewhere.

The research work for this thesis has been carried out in the Department of Modern History at the University of St. Andrews under the supervision of Mr. B.P. Lenman and Dr. K.E. Wrightson since the academic year 1978-1979 when I first registered as a full-time research student.

We certify that James Austin Ferguson has been engaged under our supervision, that he has fulfilled the conditions of the Ordinance General No. 12 of the Senate Regulations and that he is qualified to submit the accompanying thesis in application for a degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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In the course of my research over the past three years, I have been helped by many people in the cities I visited. My thanks are due to the librarians and archivists of the various libraries and record offices in which I have worked whilst preparing this thesis. In particular I would like to thank the Edinburgh City Archivist, Dr. Walter Makey, plus the staffs of the London Guildhall, Scottish Record Office and Trinity College, Dublin.

For the three years I was financially supported by the N.I. Department of Education for which I am very grateful.

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I must also thank Professor D.A. Bullough for the use of the facilities of the St. John's House, Centre for Advanced Historical Studies in St. Andrews, and Mrs. Morna Lohar to whom fell the unenviable task of transcribing my often illegible script into type.

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ABBREVIATIONS

B.O.E.C.	The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club
C.A.R.D.	Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin
C.K.S.A.	Canongate Kirk Session Accounts
C.K.S.M.	Canongate Kirk Session Minutes
C.L.P.R.O.	Corporation of London Public Record Office
C.S.P.D.	Calendar of State Papers, Domestic
C.W.A.	Churchwarden Accounts
D.C.L.	Dublin City Library
E.C.A.	Edinburgh City Archives
Ec.H.R.	Economic History Review
E.R.B.E.	Extracts Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh
I.B.	Irish Builder
I.G.	Irish Geography
I.H.R.	Irish History Review
J.H.S.	Journal of Historical Studies
N.L.I.	National Library of Ireland
P.C.C.	Prerogative Court of Canterbury
P.R.O.	Public Record Office
P.R.O.I.	Public Record Office of Ireland
P. & P.	Past and Present
S.B.R.S.	Scottish Burgh Record Society
S.M.	Session Minutes
S.P.	Session Papers
S.R.O.	Scottish Record Office
T.C.D.	Trinity College Dublin
T.I.B.G.	Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers
V.M.	Vestry Minutes

CHAPTER ONE INTRODUCTION

(i) AIMS

In the later seventeenth century the societies of England, Scotland and Ireland were very far from being highly urbanised. In England perhaps 8% - 16% of the national population lived in towns with populations over 5,000, while in the other kingdoms of the British crown the urban population was almost certainly smaller in proportion. Nevertheless Britain did contain a number of cities of very considerable size, even by contemporary European standards. By 1700 over 500,000 people lived in England's capital and London was the largest city in Europe. Edinburgh, though much smaller, nonetheless had a population of approximately 46,000 in 1691 while Dublin in the 1680's was a city of perhaps 70,000.¹ In the course of over a century of urban growth these capital cities had grown disproportionately as compared with the provincial towns of their respective kingdoms.

As yet however, we still know comparatively little about the experiences of those who lived in the greatest cities of early modern Britain. In recent years urban history has made rapid advances.² The 'institutional' history which was typical of the field in the nineteenth century has been complemented by studies more influenced by demographic, economic and sociological questions.³ Attempts have also been made to gain a rounded picture of urban life through multi-faceted studies of particular towns. Much valuable work has been done.⁴ Yet many questions remain unanswered about the major urban centres

of seventeenth century Britain.

To date British urban history has been largely English.⁵ While some studies exist of urban development in England's sister kingdoms, the subject remains underdeveloped in Scotland and Ireland.⁶ In addition, recent research in England has tended to be concentrated upon provincial towns and cities. London remains comparatively little explored - perhaps a consequence of the sheer size of a city in which some individual parishes were more heavily populated than some provincial cities. Most studies also concentrate on population, urban government and the urban economy. They have not yet attempted to reconstruct life at the level at which most people lived - the parish.

In this study an attempt will be made to contribute to the developing field of British urban history in three ways. Firstly, this study will concentrate upon the relatively neglected capital cities of Britain. Secondly, it will focus upon the structure of urban society in these cities at the local level of the parish, seeking to add to our knowledge of the nature of daily life in Britain's most significant urban centres by studying the records of three parishes. Of course, no claim can be made to provide a comprehensive picture of life in these parishes due to the problems created by size, time span and records. However, it is hoped that it will be shown that something can be achieved by closer focus. Finally, it will attempt to be comparative in nature, in the hope that a

comparative dimension may help to illuminate both the similarities and the differences which existed within the urban society of early modern Britain.

(ii) THE CAPITALS

In the seventeenth century, the British world was an Atlantic one consisting of the American plantations and the three kingdoms of the British Isles. Each kingdom was still a separate and unique entity. Thus to concentrate on the English alone would result in a very misleading picture of the whole. Yet by the end of the century there was no doubt in the minds of Englishmen as to which was the most important city in the islands.

" . . . nothing appears to the contrary but that London is the most considerable city of the whole world . . . and that there can scarce be twelve cities in Europe more considerable than Dublin".⁷

The size of London and its continued expansion prompted considerable debate. As well as wonderment and pride, many felt that the growth of the capital could easily lead to the downfall of the rest of the kingdom.⁸ The influence of the city was indeed immense.

"In the pre-industrial period, London increased its already established importance, tightening its grip on the economic as well as the political mechanism of a country that was increasingly bound to it by communication, by demand and by the fact that in the late seventeenth century nearly one Englishman in ten was a Londoner and many more had received their training there".⁹

The importance of London raises the question of what should be used in comparison with this Leviathan. When studying the largest city in Europe there is little to be gained by comparing it with St. Andrews, Cork or Kendal. Little can be learnt from comparing organisms of different magnitudes, different functions

and which have differing reasons for existing. The uniqueness of London has long been recognised by the authors of urban history text books who generally give it a chapter of its own. For a comparative historian the cities of Edinburgh and Dublin are the natural choices. This was recognised even in the seventeenth century. One official in Dublin commented that

"Men live alike in these two cities [Dublin and London] . . . though very different from the rest of the kingdom".¹⁰

A visitor to Edinburgh recorded that

"The street [High Street] is well made and well paved and the Scotchman is apt to say that it is sike another as Cheapside".¹¹

The three cities had much in common, not least of which was that all three were the capitals of their respective kingdoms, united by one monarch. All three had the functions associated with centres of government - the presence of the 'prince' or his representative (the Lord Lieutenant in Dublin and the Privy Council in Edinburgh); Courts; the head of the Judiciary; the presence of some of the notables of the State (and their entourages).¹² The cities also benefitted from the desire of the monarch to impress his 'cousins' on the continent.¹³ The cities were also the largest in the British Isles. Some idea of the size of the cities based on the work of both contemporaries and modern scholars is given in Table 1.

These estimates show that London was unique among the towns of the British Isles. Dublin and Edinburgh, both large by the standards of these islands were insignificant compared with the

"Queene of Cities".¹⁴ The cities were also continuing to grow. In the Restoration period the most spectacular growth was taking place in Dublin for reasons very similar to those which had led to the growth of London.¹⁵

	London	Dublin	Edinburgh
1682	669,930 ^(a)		
1685		50,000 ^(d)	
1687		69,090 ^(e) / 75,990 ^(f)	
1691			43,600-48,050 ^(h)
1695	479,600 ^(b) / 530,000 ^(c)	40,508 ^(g)	

Table 1 Estimates of the Populations of the Capitals¹⁶

The cities also suffered from problems common to the majority of towns, such as poverty, migration, crime, hygiene, poor roads, poor housing and the threat of serious fire. However the problems were not exactly the same in each of the cities. In each case they were modified by local conditions which also influenced the attempted solutions. Thus poor relief in Scotland was influenced by the interest the kirk took in it. In Dublin all problems were complicated by the large number of Roman Catholics in the city. The situation in London was more difficult because of the sheer size of the capital and therefore of its problems. The difficulties were magnified by the numbers involved. In all three cities, changes in religious or political policies could alter the local

situation at any time. The arrival of James II and VII in Ireland in 1689, for example, resulted in the overthrow of the Protestant Corporation of Dublin.

A basic difference between the cities was that despite having the same 'prince', each functioned under a different political system. The relationship between the King in Parliament and the City of London was very complicated. This was due to the reliance of the government on the economic strength of the capital for loans and taxes. This gave the city a measure of independence unknown to any other urban unit.¹⁷ The London magistrates also controlled the suburbs and held sway in Middlesex. The restored Stuarts had attempted to curb the city's power but their successors had the sense to let sleeping dogs lie. This meant that London was left with powers described by Sydney Webb as "vast and indefinite" and which were supported by four Members of Parliament in the House of Commons.¹⁸ The burden of local government rested on the shoulders of the Justices of the Peace.¹⁹ By the late seventeenth century the other traditional pillar of city government, the guilds, was losing its authority due to a variety of reasons, including economic pressures, rising population and the sheer size of the city.

The position in Dublin was not unlike that of London. The Lord Lieutenant took the place of the monarch in the English capital. The city was the key to English rule in Ireland and was thus open to interference from the government 'across the water'. As the centre of English rule, English institutions were reproduced with the result that "Dublin was essentially

Protestant and Anglo-Irish if not actually English".²⁰ The government of Dublin was similar to that of London, with a Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Aldermen and representatives elected from the guilds. Together they formed the Common Council.

Lord Mayor		Cookes	2
Aldermen	24	Tanners	2
Sheriffs	2	Tallow Chandlers	2
Sheriffs Peers	14	Glovers	2
Trinity Guild	30	Weavers	2
Taylors	4	Sheermen	2
Smiths	4	Goldsmiths	4
Barber Chirurgeons	4	Coopers	1
Bakers	4	Feltmakers	2
Butchers	4	Cutlers, Stationers,	
Carpenters	4	& Paint Stainers	2
Shoe Makers	4	Bricklayers	2
Saddlers	4	Hosiers & Knitters	2

Table 2 The Common Council of Dublin²¹

Though Edinburgh was the capital of Scotland it had by 1685 lost its monarch. In his place was the Privy Council composed of a mixture of nobles and royal servants. Like the Lord Lieutenant in Dublin, the Privy Council was willing to become involved in the affairs of the city.²² Edinburgh itself was governed by the Provost, his bailies, the Dean of Guild, the Treasures and a council of ten merchants and eight craftsmen.²³ It was this Council which in theory could control the affairs of the Canongate and select its bailies. The council in the Canongate was similar though smaller.²⁴

Despite the cities being the largest in the British Isles and functioning as capitals they differed from each other. Each

was governed by a different body in a different way. All faced the problems associated with urbanisation but these were not exactly the same in each city because of the influence of local conditions. Though the study looks at similar organisms they still differed significantly from each other.

(iii) THE PARISHES

How can we approach the society of such great cities? Here the method adopted is to select particular parishes for study and to concentrate on a limited period of time. The problem then becomes which parishes to choose.

Though Scottish burghs were in the medieval period normally treated as one large parish - hence their high central burghal kirks - each of these cities was by the late seventeenth century made up of a group of parishes. In London the number is very high with over one hundred to choose from. The choice of one parish from each for comprehensive study is to some extent arbitrary, but certain criteria can be followed. In his comprehensive guide to historical research Alan MacFarlane suggests that a ratio of one researcher to 2,000 inhabitants is sufficient.²⁵ While Dr. MacFarlane was referring to the more time consuming techniques of family reconstruction his ratio is an approximate guide in eliminating many of the parishes.

The study needed to find three parishes which were roughly similar in size, wealth and character. Obviously much more could be learnt about the differences in life in the three capitals if broadly similar entities are examined. Given the different social, economic, religious and political backgrounds of the three capitals it was, of course, impossible to select parishes which were exactly the same - though the effort has to be made. Given the limitations imposed by these conditions, it would have been very surprising if the three

parishes had similar sources of equal quality. It is unfortunate, but, to a limited extent, the quality of sources was a second priority compared with the search for broadly similar types of parish.

The process of selecting the parishes was slow and full of 'cul de sacs'. A list of parishes of suitable size was drawn up from some of the secondary sources already available.²⁶ These lists were then narrowed down by tours of the relevant record offices to check on the adequacy of the main types of document. However, it was soon discovered that excellent demographic and vestry / kirk-session material were not sufficient in themselves. A depth of varied sources was more important than being absolutely certain about the exact size of the parish population. As the aim was to get an overall picture of the parish using all the available records, the fact that one set may have been weak was not too critical. One problem was the large number of depositories in which records could be stored - in Dublin, for example, ten different record offices and libraries had relevant documents. While every effort was made to cover all possible depositories it must be admitted that there is a very slight possibility that some escaped.

The short time period of the study (approximately ten years) has both disadvantages and advantages. It has meant that some techniques which could possibly answer some of the questions raised by the research cannot be used. The main one was the technique of Family Reconstruction which would have

been particularly useful in the Canongate.²⁷ However this was compensated for by the fact that it is much easier to obtain runs of documents for ten years than for fifty or even one hundred. Thus the choice of parish was greatly widened.

The difficulties associated with source survival combined with those in finding parishes of approximately the same population have meant that the selected parishes are only roughly akin. As with the cities themselves, the parishes never could be identical and each has its own individual idiosyncrasies. The parishes selected were the Canongate on the outskirts of Edinburgh, St. Bartholomew's the Great in London, and St. Bride's in Dublin.

THE CANONGATE

The burgh of the Canongate was the most unusual, having the privilege of self-government. As a burgh of Barony it had independence of action under the supervision of its superior - Edinburgh Town Council.²⁸ The administrators therefore had more freedom to deal with the burgh's problems. In a small urban area some members of the kirk session also served on the burgh council. The combination of secular and ecclesiastical authority resulted in a more powerful instrument of government. Such unity of purpose was common in Scotland but rare outside it. Traditionally the Canongate had been the town residence of the gentry and nobility who provided a profitable market for the parish's tradesmen.²⁹ However, since the monarch's journey south there had been less reason for the gentry to reside in the Canongate and by the end of the century

its prosperity had started to wane.

In many ways this parish has the best surviving records of the three - if not in quality certainly in quantity. The records concerned with the kirk session were particularly varied.³⁰ Though neither the minutes nor accounts are complete they were very detailed and give an excellent picture of the work of that body.³¹ One important point was that for a period the parish had rival sessions and thus two sets of documents exist, but this only adds to the store of information. While baptism and marriage records are good, those for burials are very poor.³² While this in itself is not disastrous, it does leave several questions unanswered.³³ There is also a rich pool of miscellaneous documents ranging from menus to building charges to wages, to testificates which add a great deal to the overall picture of the Canongate and are one of the strengths of this particular parish.

The burgh of Canongate is adequately if not abundantly supplied with records. The surviving court records do not give a complete coverage but sufficient remain to present a reasonable guide to the work carried out. Economic records are well represented with minutes of five of the eight Incorporations (guilds) still in existence.³⁴

Edinburgh has been a fertile ground for local historians, many of whom have put their work into print either with publications such as the Scottish Record Society or the Scottish History Society. Two volumes have also been written specifically on the Canongate and though these take a slightly 'romantic' view

of the burgh they are useful in setting the scene.

Overall the burgh has a good spread of records which more than compensate for their thinness in places. The records are not perfect but are as good as one could reasonably hope for. Certainly they are the best of the three sets under study.

ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S THE GREAT

The parish of St. Bartholomew's the Great had originally been part of the precinct belonging to the priory of St. Bartholomew's and as such retained some independence from the central city government even after the Reformation.³⁵ Not until the reign of James I did the city gain authority over the parish which even then remained outside the ward system.³⁶ The main benefit was commercial and economic - "not being subject of the customs of the city, the inhabitants were entitled to carry on trade in the parish without being free of the city".³⁷ This privilege led to frequent disputes with other parishes and with the City which disliked the existence of such areas within its boundaries. Though without the attractions of the Canongate, the parish had a reasonably prosperous population and a solid base of craftsmen. One economic advantage the parish did have was the Bartholomew Fair. Originally a cloth fair it had long since expanded its attractions and time span to become one of the highlights of the London calendar.³⁸ By the late seventeenth century the fair had a justly deserved reputation for encouraging lax morals and Samuel Pepys described it as "nasty" and "dirty".³⁹

The main problem in London was actually deciding which parish to choose from the large number available and the wealth of surviving sources. St. Bartholomew's the Great, like the Canongate, was slightly apart from the rest of the city, both physically and legally. This fact along with its convenient size made it the obvious parish to select. In common with the Canongate it also had a reasonable breadth of material.

The vestry records are very good and the gaps which occur in the accounts are again compensated for by the quality of the material.⁴⁰ The parish registers are complete for the period under study and are indeed rather more useful than those surviving in the Canongate. The breadth of vestry material is not quite so wide, but does include, for example, plans, sextons' accounts and settlement papers.

The ecclesiastical and secular records are more complicated due to the complexity of jurisdictions to which the parishioners could appeal. The secular records are very good indeed though many were recorded in Latin short-hand.⁴¹ The ecclesiastical records are less complete but it is still possible to see how the church courts affected life in the parish. In common with the Canongate, though wills survive they do not do so in very great numbers but it is still possible to use them.

One of St. Bartholomew's the Great's strong points is the number of surviving tax rolls. These include the 1695 Marriage Tax which can be very useful in calculating the household structure of the parish.⁴² Other economic records are less common and useful, as the residents of the parish did not have

to belong to the guilds.

Overall St. Bartholomew's the Great has more than adequate records for the historian. Mr. E.A. Webb has already put them to use in his excellent two volume history of the parish.⁴³

ST. BRIDE'S

The very poor survival of records in Dublin made the selection of a parish much simpler. Only the 'bare bones' exist for the late seventeenth century. St. Bride's, like the others, was reasonably prosperous. Its economic base was similar to those of the mainland parishes though it may have had a higher proportion of wealthy merchants. According to nineteenth century opinion the St. Bride's of the 1690's was one of the more prosperous and fashionable Dublin parishes.⁴⁴ A survey of those who rented pews at the parish church would seem to confirm this. Included were Lord Kingston (brother of the Duke of Marlborough), Lord Shelbourne, Thomas Morgan (City Recorder), William Swift, Anthony Dopping (Bishop of Neath), Sir William Domville, William Petty, Dr. Nathaniel Foy, Lord Powrscourt and the Lord Archbishop of Dublin.⁴⁵ St. Bride's suffered more than the other two parishes from religious difficulties. Like all Dublin parishes a large proportion (about 25%) of its population was Roman Catholic. If this was not a burden enough for the established Anglican church, there was also a Quaker Meeting House in the parish.

A wide variety of documents were destroyed in the political unrest of the early twentieth century. When this was combined with selecting a parish of a suitable size the choice was rather

limited. St. Bride's, though the right size and economically similar to the others, had a large proportion of copied records and few originals. The difficulty was that the historian could not know what mistakes were made by his predecessors. However, most of the 'scribes' seem to have been competent local historians. The only alternative was to pick a parish with nothing in common with the Canongate and St. Bartholomew's.

Copies of parts of the vestry minutes and accounts survive along with the parish registers. Though the vestry documents are by no means complete sufficient was recorded to give a good idea of how the parish operated.⁴⁶ No secular or ecclesiastical court records have survived for Dublin which leaves a major gap in the study. The same was largely true of the tax rolls though a few parish series are still in existence. However details of parish life can be found in the many depositaries around Dublin. As in St. Bartholomew's, the Guild records are of little use due to a habit of recorders of not listing the parish of residence after names.

Some published material is available including a large amount originating in the last century which must be treated with caution. The best published work is the Calender of Ancient Records of Dublin which details all the business of the city administration.⁴⁷

The poor survival of records for Dublin means that the picture of seventeenth century society, while interesting, is far from complete. Despite the fragmentary nature of the sources, Dublin is well worth including as the city has

received little attention from historians and was, after all, the second largest city in the seventeenth century and Georgian British Isles.

The parishes, like the cities, had some basic similarities. Yet in each case these were modified by local conditions which created different problems for each parish. St. Bartholomew's had to solve its difficulties in the middle of the greatest concentration of humanity in the British Isles. St. Bride's had to enlist the support of a significant proportion of inhabitants who were hostile to the church represented by the vestry. The rulers of the Canongate had to find solutions at a time when the parish was having to adjust to an economy which had been deserted by the gentry and nobility. Under these handicaps the parishes had to cope with poverty, moral laxity, lawlessness, migration and disease while regulating the economic life of the community and maintaining the areas' physical fabric. It is the aim of this study to discover how they coped.

CHAPTER TWO THE CANONGATE - THE FABRIC OF THE PARISH

(i) THE FABRIC OF THE PARISH

The Canongate, in common with many other urban parishes, was not large in area - $\frac{1}{2}$ mile long by $\frac{1}{4}$ mile wide. The main street was a continuation of Edinburgh's High Street and led from the Netherbow to the palace at Holyrood. The parish had never been fortified and was thus on more than one occasion easy prey for invading armies¹. Entrance to the parish from Edinburgh was blocked by the Netherbow - a large gate of economic more than military significance. At the foot of the parish entry was barred by the Water-Gate, again only of economic importance as the collection point for customs. This central thoroughfare, somewhat akin to a spinal cord, was the only major road in the parish. As the later map illustrates (Map 2) the other major roads were on the boundary of the parish - Leith Wynd, St. Mary's Wynd, South Back and North Back. N.P. Brooks and G. Whittington have shown for St. Andrews that the importance of a thoroughfare can be gauged from the name - 'gait' tends to be given to the main streets whilst 'wynd' is reserved for the less important².

Confusion can arise through slight differences between the parish and the burgh of Canongate. The burgh was part of the Barony of Broughton which had been under the superiority of Edinburgh since 1639. However the burgh of Canongate did have control over North Leith, Pleasance and Potterrow - a privilege which both magistrates and traders guarded jealously³. North Leith had originally also been part of the parish of Canongate,

but had been granted its own kirk in 1606⁴. Potterrow was also attached to the parish, having its own elder and deacon. The south side of the Canongate as far as St. John's Street (see Map 2) belonged to the City of Edinburgh. It was at St. John's Cross that the capital's magistrates met visiting dignitaries. The situation was further confused by the Castle being part of the Canongate parish, but not the burgh, also appointing a representative to the kirk session. While the Abbey Church was used by the congregation, the building and its grounds were independent, belonging to the Crown⁵. In total, the variations between parish and burgh make little overall difference. In this study, parish and burgh will be taken as the same.

The main street of Edinburgh, stretching from the Castle to the Palace of Holyrood was thought, by contemporary observers, to be very impressive. Sir William Brereton believed it "the glory and beauty of this city : it is the broadest street (except in the Low Countries . . .) and the longest street I have seen."⁶ It would seem however that the Canongate impressed more than did the capital.

"The suburbs make a handsome street and indeed the street, if the houses . . . were not lined to the outside and faced with boards it were the most stately and graceful street that ever I saw in my life."

The opinion that the suburbs were more attractive than the rest of the city was common and perhaps not surprising if the status and position of many of the inhabitants is considered.

". . . I observed the fairest and goodliest street that ever mine eyes behold . . . wherein are gentlemens houses, much fairer than the buildngs in the High Street"⁸

The remaining walkways were not to the same high standard. The wynds in the burgh were narrow paths between the 'lands' or blocks of tenements. Some led as far as the 'backs' but at this time they were generally unpaved. Overall, visitors, especially the English, were not greatly impressed. Thomas Kirke who visited the city in 1679 had a particularly low opinion.

"Their cities are poor and populous especially Edenborough, their metropolis, which so well suits with the inhabitants that one character will serve both viz. high and dirty"⁹

Edinburgh also had a reputation for being an extremely crowded city until the late eighteenth century when the 'New Town' was developed. Concentrated on the slope of Castle Hill, the buildings could only be extended upwards.¹⁰ Housing in the Canongate, however, was not so crowded as the main city. This is vividly illustrated in Gordon of Rothiemays map.¹¹ The houses are noticeably shorter than those in the High Street and have the benefit of large expanses of open space behind them. It was the existence of these 'long-rigs' which in part explains the large number of gardeners in the burgh.

English travellers were impressed by the height of the buildings - even in the Canongate where they reached five or six storeys. Generally the suburbs followed the example of the main city and built tenements with "as many landlords as stories".¹² This explains the low average number of hearths recorded in the Hearth Tax assessments for Edinburgh - 2.0 for the city (including Leith).¹³ The number of apartments in a land can be discovered from the Hearth and Annuity taxes and

varied greatly - Handysides land had nine, Bruces land had six while that of Bailie Kae had only four.¹⁴ Unfortunately the tax rolls give no indication of the number of rooms that a house might possess. Some idea can however be gained from Huntly House which is now a museum. The stairs which led to the 'flats' were often on the outside and were "unsightly and inconvenient".¹⁵ The Ancient Monument Commission for Scotland has recorded twenty-one buildings surviving in the parish from the seventeenth century - excluding the Palace and the kirk.¹⁶ These survivors confirm the evidence of contemporary travellers and maps. Eight houses had three storeys, six had four levels, five had five floors, while only two residences had as few as two levels. Fifteen of the buildings also had attics or garrets. The usual building material was 'rubble'. This again confirms the evidence of contemporary observers who suggested that the majority of buildings were made of stone though faced with wood.

The custom of facing houses in wood did away with the need for expensive glass, an absence also noticed by visitors.

"Their old houses are cased with boards and have oval windows (without casement or glass) . . . "17

The absence of large windows and glass is shown on Gordon's map where the houses have small, round portholes. Where glass windows did exist, such as in the Canongate Tolbooth, they are clearly shown. The use of wooden facings did entail some risk to the inhabitants, as it did in all early modern towns. The Canongate was unable to escape its share of fires, fuelled no doubt by the

plentiful supply of wood. A serious outbreak occurred in November 1696 when £1,600 Scots of valued rent was destroyed and another £400 Scots damage was caused. Included among the buildings destroyed by the "dreadfull fyre" was the school house.¹⁸

The primitive windows admitted little light, their main purpose being that of ventilation. The housewives would put their heads through the holes in order to get fresh air. The apartments cannot have been pleasant places in which to live for "light and ventilation, except in the upper flats hardly existed, there was no drainage system and all water had to be carried up by hand".¹⁹ If conditions were bad inside the buildings they could be much worse outside. Not for nothing was the city of Edinburgh reputed to be one of the filthiest cities in Britain. Nowhere was this more evident than on the streets, where dirt and muck could halt traffic.

" . . . through emptieing the filth and excrements furth of the back of the tolbooth of the Canongate the tolbooth close is wyldly abused and rendered unpassable almost . . . ".²⁰

Such filth was one of the first characteristics of the city noticed by visitors. The English especially made much of it, Sir William Brereton claiming he "could never pass through the hall but I was constrained to hold my nose . . .".²¹ The dirt and muck lying in the streets were a great threat to hygiene with the "big gurgling gutters in which ran the refuse of a crowded population, and among which the pigs poked their snouts in grunting satisfaction for garbage."²² and presented the city authorities with one of their most intractable problems. The

difficulties were such that in 1686 Parliament passed an Act forcing the Council to take action or else incur a heavy financial burden.²³ As superiors of the Barony of Broughton, the Town Council was also responsible for the hygiene of the Canongate. In March 1687 the city employed one Archibald Home for £6,000 Scots, for which he promised to keep twenty carts to collect the garbage and employ thirty muckmen who would rake the streets three times a week before 7.00am.²⁴ Unfortunately, as the inhabitants would have arisen by that time, they were unlikely to escape walking through the previous night's waste. The cost was high and the Council was keen to share it. The Canongate Council and Crafts were persuaded to take responsibility for their own streets and wynds. The problem was added to by the hackney coaches which now proliferated in the streets. Not only did the horses add to the waste but their passage also made it difficult for the waste to be collected. The Council decided to ban the carriages from the streets whilst the cleansing operations were in progress. The kirk, not an organisation to take its responsibilities lightly, also became involved in the problems of hygiene. In this case the Canongate session tried to set an example to the rest of the parish by employing two men to clear the rubbish from before the church.²⁵ It is possible, however, that the main motive for this initiative was to ensure that the congregation could enter the church with the minimum of discomfort.

The source of the problem lay in the habits of the residents. At night many threw their waste on to the street to

the traditional cry of 'gardez-loo'. The streets were merely large rubbish tips to many. If the residents could have been educated to behave with greater consideration then the problem would have been eased. To this end a series of proclamations were issued with regulations to control waste disposal.²⁶ Houses were to have containers for forty-eight hours' "excrements and foul water". Effluent was not to be thrown out of windows under a penalty of 4/= Scots for every family in the tenement and £6 Scots for the offender. Servants who broke the rules would be put in the pillory on their second offence and whipped out of town on their third. Carts would be provided at 10.00pm to collect the rubbish and lanterns were to be hung to facilitate this. Among other failings, the proclamations took no account of the fact that street cleansing was forbidden on the Sabbath which ensured that the residents spent an unpleasant day and were faced with double the normal amount of excrement on the roads on Monday morning.²⁷ As with the majority of regulations concerning behaviour, this one was often reissued suggesting - if the continued filth on the roads was not enough - that the rules were ignored.

During this period, the problem of cleaning the streets does not appear to have been discussed in the burgh council of the Canongate. It is possible that conditions were better in the suburbs (due partly to the large area of gardens) than in the overcrowded city. Indeed the contemporary chroniclers were referring more to Edinburgh than its superiorities in

their works. In 1619, the Privy Council complained at some length about how the city had

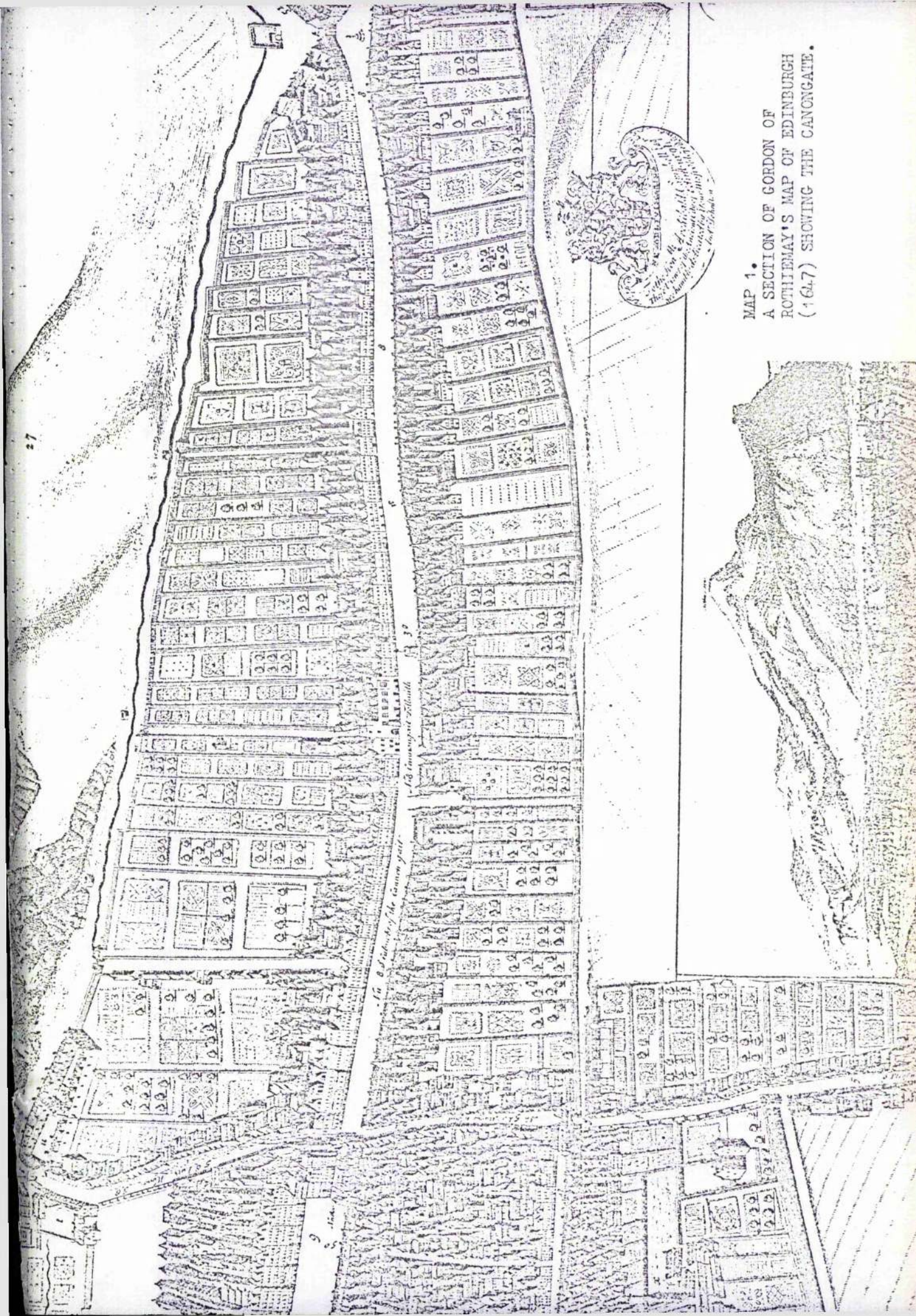
"now become so filthie and uncleine, and the streitis, vennallis, wyndis, and closis thair of so overlayde . . with the filthe and excrementis of man and beast, as the noblemen, counsalloris, senatoris, and utheris of his Majesteis subjectis quho ar ludgeit with in the said burgh can not have ane clene and free passage and entrie to thair ludgings, quhairthrow . . . they are resolved rather to mak choise of ludgeings in the Canongate."²⁸

This suggests that at one time at least the Canongate had greater control over the problem. As the burgh did not have the same problems of overcrowding and limited space, it would in any case have been in a better position than the capital.

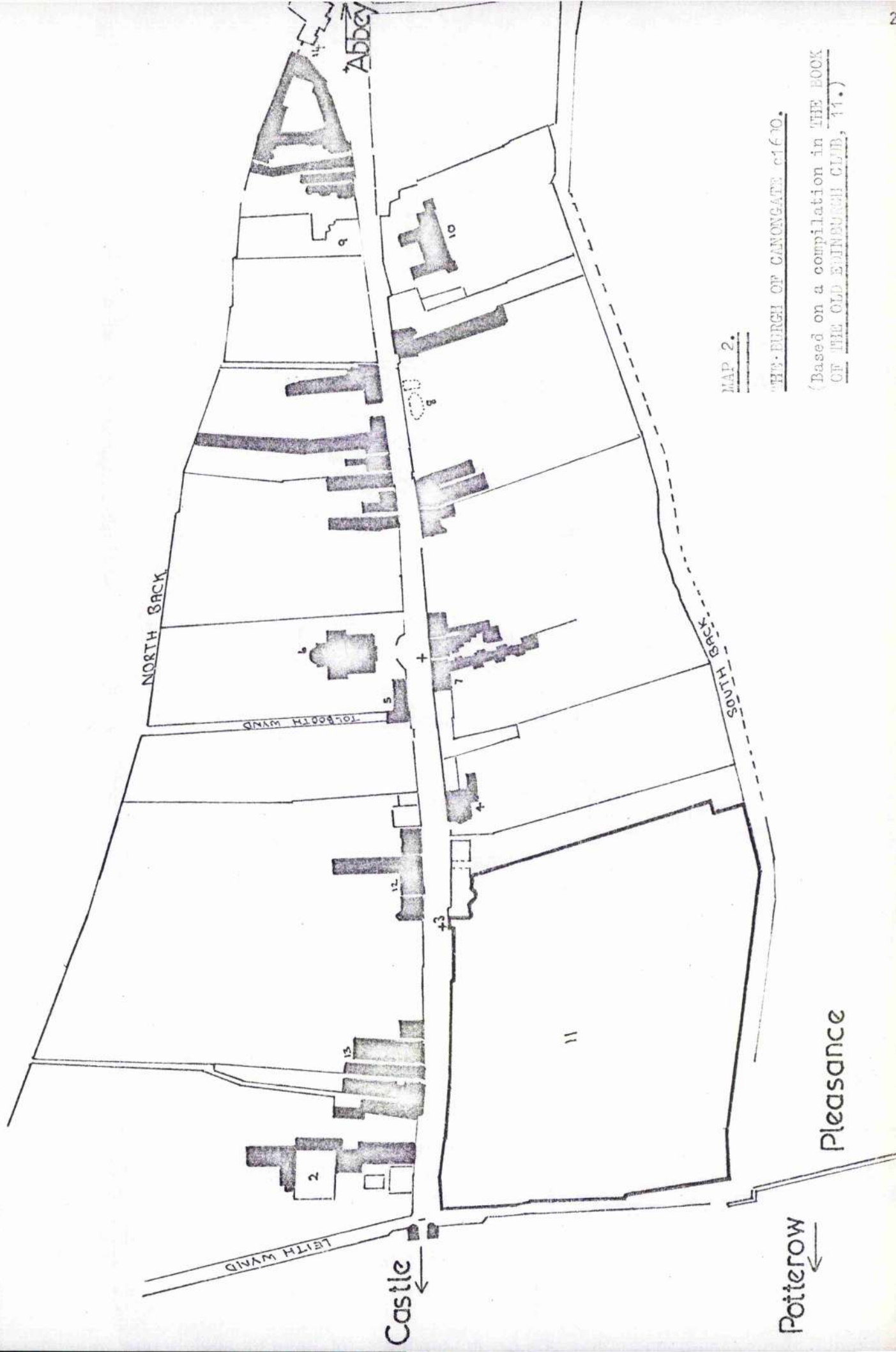
Hygiene was not the only problem created by the streets. Large sums of money also had to be spent on maintaining them - the main roads at least - in good repair. Even in the late seventeenth century cobbling or paving was comparatively rare - and expensive. The surprise of contemporary visitors at the long, wide, paved High Street has already been recorded. Only major streets could expect such expensive treatment. The Tolbooth Close in the Canongate was only paved in 1683. Some approach roads were also covered, such as the north 'back' which was used as an alternative route for entering the city. Costs were high. A contract entered in 1686 cost £3,000 Scots for the first three years. Once again the Town Council of Edinburgh was also responsible for the Canongate and stipulated that

"the high calsay from the Water-Gate to Castle hill is to be . . . mentained . . . And is to be layed according as it hes bein . . . with square cute whin stones in the midle pairt".²⁹

Stents were sometimes raised in order to meet the cost. At other times, heritors were expected to be responsible for that part of the street which lay before their property. In this way the kirk was responsible for its own frontage. In 1691 the session repaired "11 roods" at £3.6.8 Scots a rood plus meat and drink for the workmen.³⁰ By the beginning of the eighteenth century the burgh was no longer willing (or perhaps able) to meet the entire cost of repair. Much of the damage was caused by wheeled traffic using the Netherbow entrance to Edinburgh. For several years the carters had acknowledged this and donated twenty cart loads of stones towards the repair of the 'gait', but this was no longer enough. As early as 1669 the burgh court had passed an Act anent Hackney coaches, charging the owners ten merkes yearly because of the "great damage and skaith don to the Streitt and Caussay".³¹ However this seems a small amount compared with what was needed to carry out the repairs.



MAP 1.
A SECTION OF GORDON OF
ROTHIEMAY'S MAP OF EDINBURGH
(1647) SHOWING THE CANONGATE.



MAP 2.

THE BURGH OF CANONGATE c1630.

(Based on a compilation in THE BOOK OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB, 11.)

Pleasance

Potterow

Castle

LEITH WYND

NORTH BACK

SOUTH BACK

TOLBOOTH WYND

Abbey

THE BURGH OF CANONGATE.

1. NETHERBOW PORT.
2. THE FLESHMARKET.
3. ST. JOHN'S CROSS.
4. LORRY HOUSE.
5. THE TOLBOOTH.
6. CANONGATE KIRK.
7. MANSE OF HEATLY'S RESIDENCE.
8. THE EARL OF ROXBOROUGH'S RESIDENCE.
9. THE EARL OF WINTON'S RESIDENCE.
10. QUEENSTURRY'S HOUSE.
11. PART OF THE BURGH OF EDINBURGH.
12. SHOOTINGERS LAND.
13. MONK'S CLOUSE.
14. THE WATER GATE.

(ii) ECONOMIC STRUCTURES

A) Trades and Incorporations

One of the lynch-pins of any burgh's position was the existence of its trading privileges. Gradually voluntary craft organisations had matured into officially recognized Incorporations with powers of self-government and the right to maintain a 'closed-shop' in their own 'art or mystery'. The monopoly of supply was one of any burgh's most tenaciously guarded privileges.³² Traders from outside a burgh could only come inside the burgh on certain clearly defined days. The Incorporations were expected to use their powers for the good of the community. The senior members were to supervise standards, prices and the behaviour of the younger members. When serious rioting broke out over the religious policies of the monarch in 1686, the Town Council of Edinburgh expected the craft masters to control their apprentices.³³ In this case though the crafts agreed with the Council that the boys should be controlled, they were unwilling to act at the Council's command lest it weaken their privileges. The Hammermen went to the length of hiring an advocate to decide if obeying Edinburgh would set a precedent unfavourable to the burgh.³⁴

In the Canongate, the Incorporations, as formal bodies, originated around the middle of the sixteenth century. The earliest records extant are 1537 for the Hammermen and 1538 for the Cordiners.³⁵ Their right to self-government was recognized in 1556 by Act of Parliament.³⁶ Unlike their counterparts in Edinburgh, the Crafts gained a substantial voice on the burgh

council with remarkable ease.³⁷ One reason for this was their willingness to co-operate with each other in times of danger or challenge to their privileges. This willingness was demonstrated in 1610 when it was agreed to establish a 'Convenors Court' as a supervisory body to deal with inter-trade disputes and to co-ordinate action against outside threat or even against their own magistrates.³⁸

In 1610 there were only four Incorporations - Hammermen, Tailors, Baxters and Cordiners. These were later joined by the Weavers, Fleshers, Barbers and Wrights. Due to the small numbers, crafts which would normally have had their own organisations belonged to these eight Trades. Thus the Hammermen included goldsmiths, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, cutlers, locksmiths, lorimers, saddlers, pewterers and coppersmiths. The trades claimed jurisdiction over North Leith and 'Pleasance' (an area just south of Canongate). This had been granted to the Cordiners as early as 1553 by Robert Stewart, the Commendator of Holyrood Abbey.³⁹ When, in 1587, the burgh was united with other lands including Broughton and North Leith, the Crafts of Canongate assumed responsibility for the entire Barony.⁴⁰ The Incorporations vigorously defended their privileges in these areas and established overseers in North Leith to protect their interests. By the end of the seventeenth century their ability to defend their rights had been weakened. The weavers were challenged by tradesmen from Broughton who had established themselves in North Leith in 1690 without permission.⁴¹ After long litigation in the Privy

Council, the case finally went against the weavers. Gradually the craftsmen in North Leith were able to lighten the financial burden put upon their shoulders by the Canongate crafts. In defending their privileges, the rank of their opponents did not daunt the burgh's craftsmen. Fountainhill records how Lord Hatton complained when the Canongate craftsmen rioted over the aristocrat importing labour from outside the burgh to build his new residence.⁴²

In carrying out their numerous duties - admitting freemen, accepting apprentices, assessing standards and delivering fines - the Incorporations collected considerable sums of money. This, when possible, was used in the other activities of the Trades connected with their social obligations. In the seventeenth century, the Incorporations attempted to relieve the kirk of the necessity of caring for certain sections of the community - relatives of a deceased member and 'brothers' too old to work - either through small payments to widows or by undertaking to ensure that children were apprenticed. The charters of the Incorporations obliged them to do this, though due to the poor financial circumstances of some they were unable to comply. Attempts were made when possible. In 1691, the wrights paid out £30 Scots to its poor. Members in financial trouble were also assisted, usually through the extension of loans.⁴³

Post-Reformation Incorporations, like their counterparts in Dublin and London, had their origins in the medieval religious Guilds. While the theological change of the sixteenth century freed them from much of the expense involved in maintaining chapels, priests and ceremonial processions, their connections with the kirk

remained very strong. The trades retained their own pews or balconies, though at a cost.

"Mungo Malloch and George Chrystie gave £196.4.0 Scots from their Incorporation [Baxters] for their new loft."

"Deacon and Boxmaster to procur 400 merkes for the seat in the New Kirk that it might have the same height and station as that in the Abbey."⁴⁴

Before the crafts had been able to afford their own properties, the Abbey had often been used as a meeting place. The fact that it was the local craftsmen who were responsible for erecting the new kirk between 1688 and 1693 may well have tightened the bond between Incorporation and Church. The crafts also had influence over the appointment of the parish clergy, probably because they contributed towards the maintenance of the kirk.⁴⁵ The influence of the trades did not end there. As Dr. Makey has illustrated, many of the kirk elders were elected from the officials of the various trades.⁴⁶ While Dr. Makey was writing of an earlier period, the same held true at the close of the century. Through these methods the Incorporations supported one of the major parts of the structure which organised and dominated life in the burgh.

Despite their position of strength, the trades were often in financial trouble. This was, in part, due to their small membership and thus limited income. In efforts to close this gap between expenditure and income, the trades relied on borrowing and special collections.⁴⁷ The only regular sources of income were the fees paid by new freemen and rents from property owned by the trades (often as much a burden as a source of strength). The hard-found funds were quickly drained through several channels

of which the most damaging was litigation against other crafts. There were also certain regular 'standing charges' to be met. Each trade had a few permanent officials, such as the trade officer and the clerk, who required payment. Some trades, including the weavers, found it difficult to meet even these outlays.⁴⁸ A misfortune that befell all the crafts was a decision to invest in the ill-fated Darien scheme to a degree which was financially reckless.⁴⁹ One craft which successfully overcame its financial difficulties was that of the Wrights and Coupars. Others were not so fortunate - in July 1692, the Bonnetmakers were excused from the stent on account of their small numbers and lack of trade. That the Incorporations found it difficult to raise funds is not totally unexpected when the expenses faced by a new member are considered - burgess-ship fees; marriage; apprentice and servant fees; watching and warding; taxation; craft dues; kirk dues; craft offices; kirk offices; burgh offices; and court expenses.⁵⁰

The Incorporations were often under pressure from the crafts of Edinburgh. The defence of the Canongate's privileges took up a large proportion of their time and finances. The Edinburgh crafts had a history of resenting the existence of a privileged burgh so close to their own - especially one which had free access to their own markets. The disputes as the Canongate struggled to retain its independence could be both drawn out and expensive.⁵¹ The arguments were bitter and could often lead to violence, as when some servants of Canongate Baxters carrying bread to Edinburgh market were attacked.⁵² Neither side hesitated to use

the Courts. When the Baxters met in July 1690 to debate "the wrongous imprisonment of the Deacon and Boxmaster" and the demand of the Edinburgh magistrates that certain fines must be paid, the reaction was unanimous. It was decided that "not one of the trade or that enjoys any part of its privileges do offer to bring or carry bread to the public mercat of Edinburgh untill the fines already extracted be refunded and those imposed but not yet extracted are discharged".⁵³

Not all the disputes involved outside agencies - the Incorporations were often in disagreement with each other. Despite the desire for unity, arguments could break out with remarkable ease over their individual rights. In one case the Cordiners co-operated with their brethren in the capital against the leather merchants, ignoring the regulation that disputes were to be handled by the Deacon Convenor.⁵⁴ The Convenors Court was supposed to prevent crafts from going outside the burgh and the trade organisation lest such action should weaken the authority and privileges of the Incorporations. The Convenors Court did deal with most inter-craft disputes, but it lacked the power to compel a disgruntled Incorporation to regard its judgement as final. Losers regularly had recourse to yet another court.

Two conclusions can be drawn from the activities of the trades. The Canongate crafts were sufficiently well organised to resist the attempted encroachments of the larger Edinburgh crafts (often tacitly supported by the city's magistrates and the Privy Council). At the same time the disputes and the difficulty in controlling North Leith are symptomatic of the fact that the day of the Incorporated Trade was slowly drawing to a close. It

was becoming more difficult to enforce controls upon their own brethren and upon outsiders. Yet the very fact that the trades still possessed as much power and influence as they did suggests that they had more relevance than their counterparts in the rest of the British Isles. This may be a measure of the relative backwardness of the Scottish economy. However, their dominance would not last for ever. By the middle of the next century, the Cordiners would be the first Incorporation to become insolvent and be forced to dispose of its properties.⁵⁵

B) Occupations

Though the Incorporated Trades were the focal point for the majority of the crafts, the occupations undertaken by the population of the burgh were much more varied. For not only did the burgh have to supply its inhabitants with the necessities of life - bread, beer, shoes and clothes to mention a few - but it also had to supply the gentry with the luxury items they required during their stay. Such items could be produced in one of two ways - they could be made locally or they could be imported into the burgh by the merchants. Thus another character enters the stage - the 'middle-man' recognised by Dr. Makey as the apex of the occupational pyramid in the burgh.⁵⁶ The merchants were the only group permitted to carry on trade with areas outside the parish, though in the case of the Canongate, this normally meant with Edinburgh. In a parish needing a plentiful supply of goods which it was unable to produce the merchants were a vital section of the business community.

Another well defined group was that of the professions.

In an age when a large percentage of the population was illiterate and litigation was common, advocates, clerks, notaries and ministers were always in demand. The professions recruited partly from the ranks of the lower gentry who were present in the parish in some numbers. Local lairds and those from the close vicinity often had residences in the burgh.⁵⁷ Members of the aristocracy and the more important gentry also maintained residences in the parish; though for men such as Lord Livingston, the Earl of Airlie, the Earls of Winton and Linlithgow or the Dukes of Lauderdale and Queensbury, it was not their sole place of abode. For the aristocracy, Edinburgh was associated with Parliament, the senior Courts, the Privy Council, the General Assembly and as a place to spend the winter months. They had little interest in the 'day to day' running of a parish - their sights were concentrated on more important targets.

Below the Incorporated Trades were craftsmen who did not belong to the official organisations and were without representation. Associated with this group were those occupations which did not require the same high levels of skill or training - workmen, labourers, servants, soldiers and ale house keepers. Needing little capital these occupations attracted the poor of the parish desperate to find employment. It was this section of the community, little integrated into the formal institutions of Canongate society, that the parish and burgh authorities saw as a potential threat to good order and were keen to oversee.

The kirk session, for example, often tried members of this section for not observing the Sabbath and for fornication.

Information on occupations can be gained from several sources. The Incorporation Minutes usually recorded the trade of those elected to office or admitted freemen. Unfortunately the minutes of only five trades survive. The 1694 Poll Tax records the occupation of the household head in the majority of cases. Other sources which give a less frequent description of occupations included testaments, parish records and the kirk session minutes. In certain respects the information given can be vague and misleading and must be used with care. The poll tax, for example, provides instances of persons of some standing being described as 'servants' to members of the nobility.⁵⁸ The compiler did not mean servant in the normal 'domestic' sense of the word, but more as an 'aide' or companion. In this survey the description given in the record has been adhered to as a twentieth century interpretation may differ from that understood by a contemporary. This problem of terminology explains the rarity of journeymen in the records. Many of those described as 'servants' would have been more qualified than the description implies.

The variety and width of the spectrum of occupations pursued in the Canongate is displayed in Table 1.⁵⁹ The occupational groups varied in the size of their membership. The Cordiners and Tailors were the largest and overshadowed such specialised groups as Glovers and Cabinet-makers who were only a handful in number.

Occupation	Master	Journeyman	Apprentice	Occupation	Master	Journeyman	Apprentice
Advocate	1			Fencing Master	1		
Aleseller	5			Ferrier	1		
Apothecary	4			Furrier	2		
Brewer	36	2	3	Falconer	2		
Barber	18		6	Gardiner	24		1
Baillie	14			Glassier	4	1	6
Baxter	50	5	22	Gunsmith	8	3	6
Bowmaker	2			Glover	61		
Bedal	1			Hammerman	1		
Beltmaker	1			Horsehirer	25		3
Bonnetmaker	7	2		Hoy Boy	3		
Coupar	7		3	Herald	1		
Confector	6			Flesher	7		
Cordiner	85	11	27	Indweller	35		
Cutler	5		2	Joiner	3		
Cobbler	5			Jeweller	3		1
Candlemaker	3	1		Locksmith	1		
Cowfeeder	6			Lorimer	4	1	4
Chirugion	4		1	Litster	12		6
Coachman	28			Merchant	13		
Coppersmith	4	1	3	Mason	21	1	4
Clerk	5			Minister	11		
Clothier	1			Mariner	1		
Canter	1			Majesties	1		
Callico Stamper	1			Miller	1		
Cabinet Maker	1			Maltman	4		
Cook	9			Mercer	2		
Engraver	1			Nurse	3		
Feltmaker	17		3	Notary	10		
Fiscall	1			Pentioner	1		

Occupation	Master	Journeyman	Apprentice	Occupation	Master	Journeyman	Apprentice
Procurator	2			Skinner	1		
Perriwig Maker	3		2	Messenger	1		
Precentor	1			Portioner	1		
Pewterer	6		3	Tailor	113	5	10
Plasterer	1			Turner	1		
Pattern Maker	2			Tradesman	1		
Perfumer	1			Turnkey	1		
Printer	1			Trade Officer	8		
Priest	1			Truss Maker	1		
Painter	5			Trafeker	1		
Officer	4			Tolbooth	1		
Silk Dyer	2			Tinker	1		
Soldier	194			Tanner	1		
Sheriffs Officer	1			Wright	41	5	23
Stabler	10			Weaver	45	3	19
Saddler	3			Wheelwright	2		3
Smith	15		1	Watchmaker	1		
Servant (male)	79		5	Workman	17		
Servant (female)	69			Whore	1		
School Master	9			Upholsterer	1		
Shopkeeper	2			Usher	1		
Student	4			Vintner	6		
Slater	8		4				

Table 1 A Survey of Occupations in the Canonsgate

The small number of assistants result from the fact that only those described as journeymen or apprentices were recorded. All others were recorded merely as servants. Included in Table 1 are several occupations which were not full-time and were usually associated with kirk or burgh government - bailie, precentor (the person who led the congregation in singing) and portioner (a market gardener). These have been included to illustrate the width of the range of activities pursued in the parish.

The comparative size of the broad categories of the occupational groups in the parish is shown in Table 2.

	Number	Percentage
Middlemen	58	3.37
Incorporations	768	44.67
Professional	47	2.73
Crafts	51	2.96
Non-Crafts	85	4.94
Administration	30	1.74

Table 2 Main Occupational Groups
in the Canongate 1685-1695

It is only possible to consider those persons recorded in the available records of the period. Many other inhabitants existed who remain hidden through not appearing in the records. Despite their importance, the middlemen (merchants, vintners, maltmen and barbers) were only a small proportion of the labour force - 3.4%. Their main market (the national elite) was only a small proportion of the total market meaning that a small number of suppliers was adequate. The domination of the Incorporated Trades (45% of

the workforce) is very impressive. Their size goes some way towards explaining the ease with which they gained representation on the burgh council.⁶⁰ By the late seventeenth century this consisted of the two burgh bailies, treasurer, the last occupants of those posts and seven members elected from the burgesses by the previous council. It was on the Incorporated Trades that the economic strength (or weakness) of the burgh rested - less than 3% of craftsmen remained outside the Incorporate structure. The domination may have been even more complete as some crafts may have belonged to the Incorporations without the surviving records making this clear. The Incorporations themselves varied greatly in size and undoubtedly some were more equal than others.

Incorporation	% Workforce
Wrights	24.34
Cordiners	16.66
Tailors	16.40
Hammermen	14.32
Weavers	12.23
Baxters	10.02
Barbers	3.64
Fleshers	0.91
	100.00

Table 3 The Distribution of Membership
between the Eight Incorporations

Quantitatively the strength of the burgh lay in the traditional urban occupations. The Wrights and Coupars were an amalgam of

several different skills including brewers, cabinet makers, glaziers, masons, painters, slaters, and coach makers. For the major trades to survive, the parish needed to prosper and grow - houses had to be built, glass replace facings made of wood and people had to purchase clothes and shoes. While the economy was healthy the future would be bright, but once decline started it could become self-reinforcing.

The picture of dominance alters slightly if wealth instead of numbers is used as the criterion. Using the Poll Tax contributions of the Incorporation members, comparisons can be made between the trades. Despite their small numbers, the merchants were a very powerful economic force. The majority were paying a great deal more than 50/= Scots in taxes - often as much as £10 Scots. It was their wealth that put the merchants at the summit of the economic pyramid, not their numbers.

	Total	12/=	13/4	30/=	50/=	>50/=
Wrights	33	42.4	30.3	-	21.2	6.1
Tailors	34	50.0	14.7	14.7	17.6	2.9
Cordiners	26	61.5	23.1	-	15.4	-
Hammermen	22	40.9	22.7	-	31.8	4.6
Weavers	8	37.5	62.5	-	-	-
Baxters	20	45.0	10.0	15.0	25.0	5.0
Barbers	11	54.5	45.5	-	-	-
Fleshers	2	-	50.0	-	50.0	-
(Merchants)	6	-	-	16.7	-	83.3

Table 4 A Comparison of Wealth between the Incorporations
and Merchants (using the 1694 Poll Tax)

Several changes had occurred in the relative importance of the Incorporations. The Wrights confirmed themselves as the most influential trade through their large number of rich members and the comparatively small number of poor brothers (42%). The Wrights were mainly concerned with the building industry. It was they, for example, who would have been most involved in the construction of the new parish kirk. The minutes of the Session contain references to the selection of the Wrights who were to gain the contract. The majority were actually members of the session, ensuring that the church got value for money and strengthening the bond between secular and ecclesiastical interests. Also extant are the church accounts relating to the work.⁶¹ Another major section of this Incorporation was the brewing industry. This industry even today has strong connections with the parish which is the home of one of Scotland's major breweries.⁶² Though a large number of brewers resided in the parish no mention is made in the records of their activities apart from the temptation they put in the path of weak souls during time for divine worship. This suggests that their work was still small scale though doubtless they were one of the coupers' major clients.

The Tailors, despite their large membership, were a comparatively poor trade, having few rich members and a large percentage (50%) of basic tax payers. The product was not generally one from which large profits could be made and the large number of traders would have reduced the custom per capita.

Both the Hammermen and Baxters were economically more important than the size of their membership would suggest. Bread was guaranteed a large market (except in times of dearth when supplies would fall) and the membership was well regulated and controlled. The Hammermen, like the Wrights, were a conglomerate of different 'arts'. All required a considerable amount of skill - cutlers, blacksmiths, coppersmiths, lorimers (harness makers), saddlers and pewterers. The high rewards expected for the exercise of skill would account for the high percentage of surtax payers and the lowest percentage (41%) of basic tax payers. The craft also included some very highly skilled members - goldsmiths, jewellers and gunsmiths. As the craft minutes often neglect to record occupations, it is difficult to calculate the numbers involved. It is likely that the number of goldsmiths and jewellers was never large. From 1685 to 1695 only three jewellers and one watch-maker appear in the records. One of the jewellers, Louis Justie, was a French Protestant who fled his home because of Louis XIV's religious policies. Gunsmiths were present in greater numbers reflecting the growth of the firearm industry and the strong demand for weapons. The importance of foreign craftsmen is again illustrated by the admittance of James Gacoin, a French Protestant, as a Burgess on the 19th August 1693 "gratis in respect of his circumstances and the recommendation of Mr. Thomas Wilkie and Mr. Lafevre, minister".⁶³ This is but a small sample of those skilled craftsmen who settled in all three British capitals as a result of Louis XIV's persecution of the Huguenots. While the

introduction of new techniques was welcomed by the country's rulers, it was not always so well received by those already established in their trades.

It is impossible to reach any satisfactory conclusions about the Fleshers due to the small number present in the Poll Tax. The fleshers may have been concentrated about the 'flesh-market' which was not covered by the tax roll or they may simply have been in decline. The remaining Incorporations, despite differences in size, were relatively poor. Their products were not ones for which high prices could be charged or high profits be made. The Incorporation of Wrights was the only one to maintain its finances at a satisfactory level.⁶⁴ This is explained by the high comparative wealth of its members.

Occupation	% of Labour Force
Military	6.57
Servants	27.74
Administration	1.74
'Luxury'	3.49
Apprentices	9.48

Table 5 Non-Incorporated Trades
in the Canongate 1685-1695

A study of the Non-Incorporated occupations underlines the importance of servants in the seventeenth century economy. They formed the second largest occupational grouping in the burgh, consisting of almost 28% of the known occupations. This confirms the findings of other historians including

Peter Laslett who calculated a total of 13.4% in his sample of one hundred English communities and Dr. Phythian-Adams who estimated that servants formed 24.88% of the Coventry work force in the early sixteenth century.⁶⁵ The large number of servants in the Canongate is almost certainly a reflection of the status of the householders. The gentry tended to have large numbers of servants in their town houses.⁶⁶ As we have seen, however, the term 'servant' covers a myriad of meanings and undoubtedly includes many more accurately described as journeymen. The majority of servants were young and single. Female servants (17.7% of the labour force) heavily out-numbered their male counterparts and this imbalance would be greater if it was possible to isolate the journeymen. Few occupations were open to young women before marriage and for many 'service' was the only option. Many did not make the choice themselves as it was common for parents to send their children into the service of other households either as servants or apprentices.⁶⁷ This section of the population was very mobile and volatile. Females often left after marriage and many servants changed employer as often as once a year.⁶⁸ Such a floating population disturbed the custodians of order and was one of the reasons for the necessity for strangers to possess testificates if they desired to reside in a parish.

A core of craftsmen concerned with luxury goods also existed in the parish. They produced goods which may not have been present in a burgh with a lesser tradition of maintaining a large number of wealth patrons. One of the largest independent

groups consisted of gardeners. They were present because the 'lang-rig' layout of the burgh permitted the maintenance of gardens behind the 'lands'. The existence of room in which to create gardens was not enough in itself. Large sums of money were also needed to purchase the materials and employ the gardeners. The number of gardeners in an area may form an index of its wealth. Their presence also confirms the reputation the parish had gained for being well-endowed with gardens.

" . . . the house and gardens of the Earl of Moray, of such elegance, and cultivated with such diligence, that they easily challenge comparison with the gardens of warmer climate and almost of England itself."⁶⁹

More information could be gained if occupations could be compared at two points in time. This would reveal whether or not a change in occupational structure was taking place in the parish. Unfortunately, only the 1694 Poll Tax records enough information about employment and such a survey and comparison over time is therefore not possible.

	Poll Tax Numbers	Poll Tax Percentage	Overall Percentage	
Middlemen	28	4.06	3.37	
Incorporations	253	36.71	44.67	
Professions	11	1.59	2.73	
Servants Male	310	10.74	10.06	
Female	(Total)	32.94*	17.68	* Not known =
Crafts	44	6.38	2.96	1.3%
Non-Crafts	36	5.22	4.94	
Luxury	21	3.04	3.49	
Administration	6	0.87	1.74	
Apprentices	98	14.22	9.48	

Table 6 Occupations Recorded in the 1694 Poll Tax
Compared with the Overall Survey

The Poll Tax was not randomly collected and allowance must be made for it presenting an unrepresentative view of occupations. A different weighting of the importance of the various occupations is apparent (Table 6). The domination of the Incorporated Trades is still strong but at 37% of the work force, it is weaker than in the overall survey. In part, this reflects the decline that is known to have taken place in some crafts such as the bonnet-makers. The major difference is the very large number of female servants present on the tax roll. It is possible that the roll covered the more affluent section of the parish though a study of the Annuity Roll suggests that the parish was not divided by wealth. The more probable explanation is that servants were under-registered in the other categories of record. Servants were accorded little recognition in, for example, the Trade minutes. As the majority of servants were also both young and single they were not present in the parish registers in any significant numbers. Generally the only times that their existence was recognised was when they were in trouble and when they died. Under-registration in the majority of records would also explain the higher proportion of apprentices recorded by the Poll Tax.

It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions about the occupations recorded by the Poll Tax. Generally they confirm the distribution present in the burgh over the entire period. Quantitatively the Incorporated Trades dominated the economy of the burgh though the single wealthiest group consisted of the merchants. It was this dichotomy between quality and quantity

that had led to the struggles between the two groups for the control of burgh government in many towns, not just the Canongate.

C) Wealth

Few direct measures exist which can be used to gauge the levels of wealth of the parish residents. Testaments are the most accurate source but their survival is extremely poor. They were meant to record the movable property of the deceased plus all debts owed to and by that person.⁷⁰ A Will was sometimes included in which case the document was known as a 'testament testamentur'. A testament which did not include a Will was known as a 'testament dative'. Testaments of the latter type form the majority of those surviving in the Canongate for this period. A tax of 5% of the net value was levied by the state. As the testament was normally drawn up by a relative of the deceased, the value of surviving property was probably underestimated in an effort to pay as little tax as possible. Debts would have been recorded accurately as those owed by the deceased would have lowered the value of his property, while those owing to him could only be claimed if recorded in the testament.

The available sources for calculating wealth involve only those who possessed more than a certain minimum. The parish poor were ignored either because they were exempted (as with the poll tax) or because their possessions were not worth recording in detail (as with testaments). The large number of one hearth residences in the Hearth Tax Roll plus the number of persons not recorded as having paid the tax suggests that the

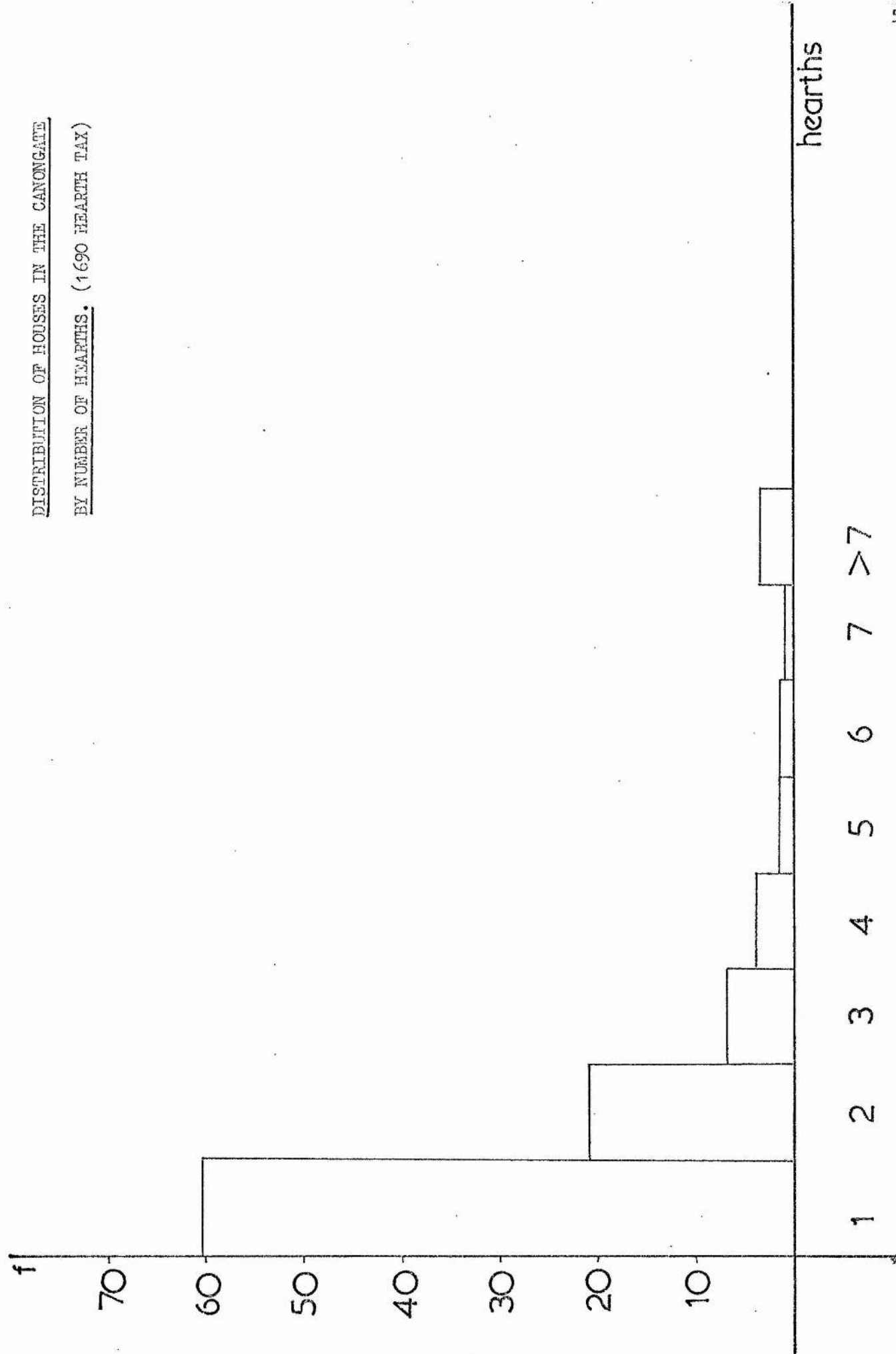
poor were included on this roll. A note attached to the tax roll states that 48 residents (5.6% of all householders) were exempted but does not make clear whether or not they have been listed. The use of the poll tax is more complicated because of its partial coverage of the parish. No evidence has been found suggesting that certain quarters were wealthier than others and therefore the roll has been taken as representative of the entire parish. A handful of residents classified as poor have been listed but generally the roll ignores this category. The Annuity Tax indicates that wealth was divided by height rather than ground area with the rich living towards the top of tenements. This supports similar findings by Catford in Edinburgh.

The Hearth Tax is more often used for the measurement of population than of wealth. It is a useful surrogate measure forming "a broad guide to . . . relative wealth".⁷¹ The tax for 1690 shows that the majority of residences had only one hearth.⁷² While some householders may have successfully hidden hearths from the collector (or persuaded him to record an inaccurate number) this would not radically alter the results. The residences with large numbers of hearths belonged usually to the nobility - the Earl of Sutherland, 14 hearths; the Earl of Forfar, 9 hearths; the Duke of Roxburgh, 10 hearths and the Duke of Queensbury, 52 hearths. A few merchants also maintained residences with around 10 hearths. The fact that the majority of residences only had a few hearths should not be taken to mean that the parish was poor.

FIGURE 2.1

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSES IN THE CANONGATE

BY NUMBER OF HEARTHES. (1690 HEARTH TAX)



Number of Hearths	Frequency	Percentage	
1	509	60.5	
2	177	21.0	
3	62	7.4	
4	35	4.2	
5	14	1.7	Mean = 2 Hearths
6	13	1.5	
7	10	1.2	
8	6	0.7	
9	2	0.2	Mode = 1 Hearth
10	4	0.5	
11	2	0.2	
12	1	0.1	
13	2	0.2	
14	2	0.2	
18	1	0.1	
52	1	0.1	

Table 7 Distribution of Residences by
Number of Hearths

The parish average was the same as that for Edinburgh as a whole,⁷³ though less than that recorded for London parishes.⁷⁴ Edinburgh and, to a lesser degree, the Canongate had to house large populations in a small area. In the Canongate, architecture was inevitably influenced by the burgh's proximity to the capital with the result that similar styles of buildings were erected. The majority of residences were flats - even then described as tenements.⁷⁵ A comparatively wealthy inhabitant was not guaranteed the type of residence that he desired. Others, especially those only coming to town infrequently may not have wanted to maintain a large and expensive 'pied-a-terre'. That a divergence existed between wealth and number of hearths is quite clear. The Poll Tax has several examples including the Lady Elizabeth Kennedy (an Earl's sister) who lived in a residence with only five hearths.

In contrast Patrick Jackson, a coupar worth only 300 merkes, had 13 hearths in his residence (though he would only pay for 6).⁷⁶

How the house was furnished was more important than its size. When space was at a premium many wealthy inhabitants preferred to invest in furnishings and improvements in the interior of their home. A limited supply of space which was also in demand would be expensive. In this case rent would be a better guide to wealth than the number of hearths.

Rent	Number	Percentage	Rent	Number	Percentage
0 - 10	205	23.9	151 - 160	1	0.1
11 - 20	256	29.8	161 - 170	1	0.1
21 - 30	150	17.5	171 - 180	1	0.1
31 - 40	90	10.5	181 - 190	0	0.0
41 - 50	47	5.5	191 - 200	6	0.7
51 - 60	27	3.1	236	1	0.1
61 - 70	21	2.4	240	1	0.1
71 - 80	11	1.3	250	1	0.1
81 - 90	3	0.3	266	4	0.5
91 - 100	17	2.0	293	1	0.1
101 - 110	1	0.1	300	2	0.2
111 - 120	6	0.7	400	1	0.1
121 - 130	0	0.0	500	1	0.1
131 - 140	1	0.1	700	1	0.1
141 - 150	2	0.2			

Mode = £11 - £20 Scots

Median = £11 - £20 Scots

Table 8 Distribution of Rents in the Canongate (1687)

(N.B. money in pounds Scots)

The Annuity Tax was collected as a means of paying the parish

clergy their stipend.⁷⁷ It was based on the rental of residences and collected at a rate of 6% once a quarter. Several rolls survive for the Canongate of which that for 1687 is the most complete. Table 8 includes all the property in the parish including working premises. As with the Hearth Tax, the emphasis is at the lower end of the range with a mode of £11 - £20 Scots per annum.⁷⁸ This confirms the findings of the Hearth Tax in suggesting that the majority of residences were small. The wide range of rents, reaching £700 per annum indicates that the parish also contained some very large residences. Rents were not divided by area inside the parish but by the height of the apartment inside the 'land'.⁷⁹ This ensured a 'social mix' that may not be present in Edinburgh even today. The tax suffers from the same weakness as that on hearths in that wealthy residents may have paid a small rent. It cannot be assumed that individuals only had one property. Both taxes indicate that some owned more than one - perhaps using one as a place of work.

"Corsers Land.

Alex Thomsons chop. 010 . 00 . 00

John Hepburns chop. 010 . 00 . 00"⁸⁰

Only the Poll Tax attempted to measure wealth directly. This tax, like that on hearths, was raised to pay for the armed forces. The tax levied for different categories and from this it is possible to calculate what a person was worth. In the Canongate the tax category is normally given.⁸¹ Comparatively little use has been made of this source, partly due to the very

poor survival of the tax rolls. In Table 9, the heads of households are recorded according to their tax-paying category.

Category		Tax	Number
Poor			4
Ordinary People		12/=	156
Merchants and	0 - 100m	6/=	28
richer Tradesmen	100 - 499m	13/4	54
	500m	30/=	15
	501 - 5000m	50/=	46
	5000m	50/=	16
Tenants			2
Heritors	£20 - £50	£1	1
	£50 - £200	£4	4
	£200		4
Gentlemen		£3	13
Professions	notary	£4	] 12
	doctor/minister	£12	
Aristocracy	Knight	£24	] 14
	Lord	£40	
	Viscount	£50	
	Earl	£60	
	Duke	£100	] 1
The Rich			

Table 9 1694 Poll Tax by Category

Servants have not been included as their assessment depended on the wage paid by their masters which in turn would have been based on their master's wealth. As with the other taxes, the concentration is at the lower end of the scale with both the mode and median at the basic rate of 12/= Scots. Almost half of the tax-payers are above this level, with many craftsmen paying a higher rate. The table hides the actual wealth of some of the richer merchants and craftsmen - James Elder (baxter), 5,000 - 20,000 merkes; George Jolley (merchant), 10,000 merkes;

Name	Occupation	Inventory	Debts owing to	Debts owed by	Overall Total
John Livingston	late treasurer	367.04.00	254.13.04	456.04.04	+£165.13.00
John Sympsone	tailor		600.00.00		
James Cochrane	smith	878.14.00	1,780.09.00	3,188.00.00	-£1,548.11.00
John Ferguson	saddler	78.13.04			+£126.11.08
Andrew Bulman	wright	100.00.00		1,375.06.08	-£1,275.06.08
Nicholas Barclay	relict	1,010 merkes			-£84.13.04
Margt Brotherstone	relict of 2		400.00.00		
James Brand	baxter	1,322.07.00	1,498.14.00	4,596.06.00	-£1,775.06.00
Isobell Douglas	relict				-£6.08.00
Robt Graham & family					+£209.06.08
Alex Henderson	Gardiner			179.00.00	£1,275.19.00
Wm Hanna (elder)	baxter		1,474.19.00		
Thomas Kilgour ⁺	tailor	218.10.00	533.06.08	317.10.00	-£98.10.00
Francis Henderson	gunsmith	66.13.06	277.01.08	120.00.00	£223.13.00
John Rymour & sons			2,579.00.00		
Janet Gordoun	Indweller	80.00.00			
John Dingwall		317.01.00		457.06.00	
Geo Anderson	cordiner	191.11.10	256.10.00	700.18.00	
Pat Bannatyne	Indweller				£1,125.00.00
John Brown				14.00.00	
Edw Sinclair ⁺	litster	35.14.00			
Margt Brotherston					
John Duncan ⁺		76.10.00		36.00.00	£40.10.00
John Ferguson	saddler	73.13.04			-£136.06.08
Pat Syme			840.00.00		
Richard Wilkie			602.13.04		
James Greg ⁺					
John Brand	Perriwig	3,882.00.00			
Earl of Linlithgow ⁺	baxter				

Table 10 Testaments surviving in the Canongate 1685-95

David Denoon, 10,000 merkes. Some residents in the burgh still paid their taxes in other locations suggesting that their stay was not permanent. Even with the Poll Tax it can be difficult to estimate the exact value of wealth as the rate is estimated from wide bands of wealth.

The best source for finding exact details of a person's wealth is that of testaments. Unfortunately only twenty-nine survive for residents in the Canongate in this period. All the survivors are 'testaments dative'. Even these few surviving records vary greatly in quality. It was mandatory to compose an inventory of the deceased's goods, but in twenty-two of the testaments only a total value is recorded. Only five testaments list the individual items. Usually the inventories were drawn up by relatives of the deceased. This may explain the vagueness of some of the inventories as the relatives attempted to under-value the movable property. Debts on the other hand are more fully recorded. Only those debts owed to the deceased which were recorded in the testament could legally be collected. Debts owed by the deceased lowered the net total value and thus the tax to be paid.

The five surviving 'detailed' inventories show a strong contrast not only between the possessions of nobility and craftsmen but also between successful and unsuccessful Incorporation members.⁸² John Duncan and Edward Sinclair possessed comparatively little, their inventories valued at £76 . 10 . 00 and £35 . 14 . 00. In contrast Thomas Kilgour was very well endowed but even he was eclipsed by James Greg who lived in a

state of luxury more akin to the gentry than the trades.

Inevitably the residence of the Earl of Linlithgow transcends those of the tradesmen. This is emphasised by the inventory being for the Earl's town residence while he normally stayed at the Palace of Linlithgow.

The extension of credit is the most striking feature of the testaments. Only fourteen of the deceased died out of debt. Long lists of debts owed by and owing to the deceased, often running to many hundreds of pounds are included by the testator. John Livingston, late burgh treasurer died in January 1687 owed £254.13.04 but owing £456.06.04 with only his 'ready money' and stock of malt saving his wife from ruin.⁸³ James Cochrane, a 'smith and present bailie' was owed £1,760.09.00 by debtors such as the Earls of Southesk, Forfar, Mortoun and the Lord Lyon. Cochrane in turn owed £3,188 to such persons as the Earls of Teddell and Kingcaine plus the Incorporation of Hammermen.⁸⁴ James Brand a baxter was owed money by the Duchess of Hamilton, the Duke of Queensbury, the Earl of Arundell, Lady Margaret of Montrose and several lairds. Unfortunately Brand in turn owed creditors £4,596.06.00.

Credit and loans were obviously important elements of the economic system in the seventeenth century. In the absence of banks it was only individual businessmen who could be expected to provide such facilities. The combination of large sums owed to and by certain individuals suggests that they acted as brokers. They would borrow from one party and lend to another at a higher rate of interest. As with modern banks the individual relied

on all his debts not being recalled at one time. Unlike banks, on an individual's death, all the debts were recalled. Loans were for a limited time with a rate of interest (annuity) being paid until the loan was repaid. If the debt was not repaid in time, the contract included a penalty clause for an extra payment. Thus when John Rymour lent Alexander, Lord Montgomery, now Earl of Ealintoun £625 it included a penalty clause of £100 in case of 'failzie'. Dealings such as these were hidden from measures of wealth based on the tax rolls and illustrate the inadequacy of such devices. Attempts to improve the quality of housing conditions rather than the size of the house would not be picked up by the hearth and annuity taxes. They may however be obvious from the inventories compiled for the testaments. Thomas Kilgour was comfortably endowed with household goods and at his death his debts exceeded his credit by £98.10.00. The majority of these were caused by his illness and death - £180.15.00. Apart from these his only other debts were his journeymens' wages - he had obviously been a careful businessman.⁸⁵ In contrast the inventory of James Greg shows a man who had invested heavily in the interior of his house though he also managed to obtain a higher quality residence in Robert Mulloch's land worth £66.13.04 per annum.⁸⁶ The remaining inventories for craftsmen show a much lower standard of living with only the basic necessities plus the tools of the trade being possessed.

It is not possible to compare any of the measures that have been used with each other. A dynamic view cannot therefore be taken

of changes in wealth over the two decades. The tax rolls look only at the upper portion of the social pyramid. Underneath those who paid the taxes remained, as always, the poor. To understand the wealth of the parish as a whole it would be necessary to estimate their number with some accuracy. We can only be certain about those who were on the Poor Roll or appeared before the various courts in the burgh. Various estimates have been made about the size of the poor relative to the overall community, but by their very nature they can only be guidelines.

The Poll Tax indicates that the parish was not poor - the majority of inhabitants paid taxes. This assumes that the roll covers only part of the parish. If in fact it refers to the whole parish then the situation would be very different with the tax-payers being a minority of the population.

D) Wages and Prices

Comparatively little work has been carried out on wages and prices in the seventeenth century, especially in Scotland.⁸⁷ However the Poll Tax does include the wages of servants and journeymen, which have been listed in Table 11. The accounts for building the new kirk in the Canongate also include details of the wages earned by the craftsmen involved.⁸⁸

The wages paid to servants depend on their age, sex, job plus the wealth of the employer. The mode is low at £12 per annum, but several other 'peaks' also exist - £20, £24 and £40-50 Scots. Wages did not include food and lodging which

the employer was expected to provide. Some servants were also provided with extras, such as shoes. Those in the higher wage brackets would not have been normal servants, many earning more than craftsmen. The wide range of wages reflects the wide range of wealth in the parish and the multitude of functions hidden under the blanket of 'servant'.

Yearly Fee	Number	Yearly Fee	Number
0	27	28	3
2	2	30	4
3	9	32	1
4	10	34	1
5	10	36	3
6	38	40	13
7	1	48	7
8	21	50	1
9	1	52	1
10	25	56	1
12	48	60	2
14	6	64	1
16	17	68	2
18	3	90	1
20	25	100	2
21	1	104	1
22	2	120	1
24	32	156	1

Mode = £12

Median = £12

Table 11 The Annual Fees of Servants and Journeymen
Recorded in the 1694 Poll Tax (£ Scots)

The kirk accounts indicate that standard wages existed for workmen. In the late seventeenth century these were set at

13/4 Scots (or one merk) for workmen and journeymen per day.

The masters of the trades fared slightly better.

" . . . For himself dureing that tyme eight
dayes at twentie shilling per diem"⁸⁹

The wages were at the same level two years later when the master and 'thri men' working for six days earned £18 Scots.⁹⁰ In 1650 the men were paid 11/= Scots per diem. In forty-five years, wages had risen by only 21%.

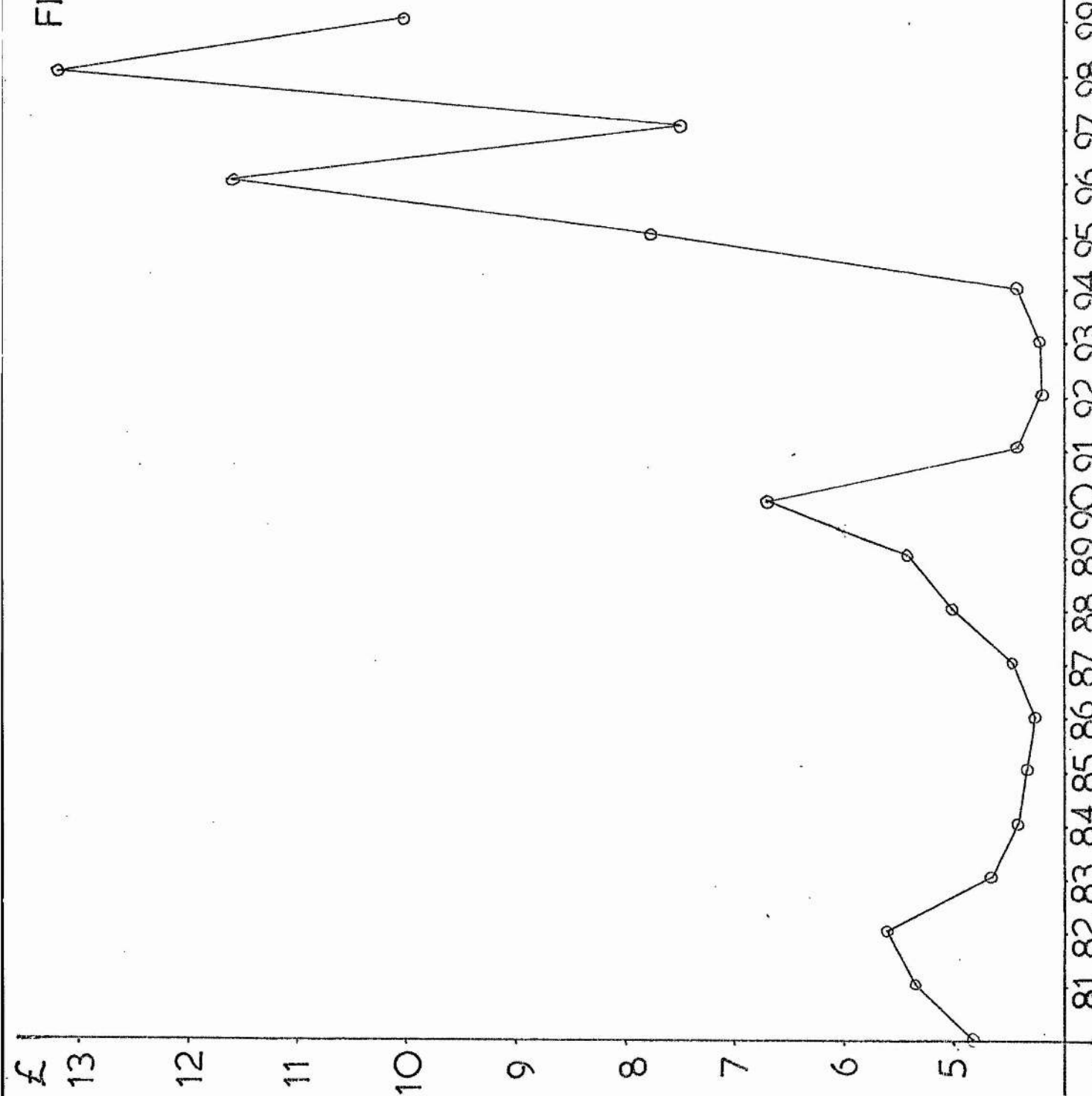
Prices as well as wages were regulated by the burgh. The cost of food in Edinburgh can be judged from Chambers Domestic Annals which record the price of meat in 1685.⁹¹ Beef was 2½ pence a pound from December until June or a fifth of a workman's daily wages. For the rest of the year it fell to 1½ pence. The communion wine bills give some idea of the price of drink.⁹² In 1692 claret was 16/= a pint while by 1692, the beginning of the 'Seven Ill Years' it had risen to £1.03.00. Corn prices are recorded in the Fiars Prices set at a Court meeting once a year to determine the market selling price.⁹³ The nearest area for which records survive is Midlothian (see Figure 2). They show that prices were quite stable apart from a small peak in 1690 until the onslaught of famine in 1695.⁹⁴ With set wages being paid, such price increases must have inflicted considerable suffering even on those with employment to say nothing of the poor and destitute.

FIGURE 2.2

FIAR PRICES FOR OATMEAL IN

MIDLOTHIAN 1680-1692.

(PRICES IN £SCOTS PER BOLL.)



(iii) DEMOGRAPHY

A. Population Size

It is not the aim of this section to produce an 'in-depth' study of the demographic background to the Canongate such as has been produced for Coventry or Clayworth.⁹⁵ The more limited aim is merely to gain a mental picture of the main features of the demographic experience of the parish.

The main sources used are the parish registers, tax rolls, testaments and some miscellaneous parish listings. The kirk registers in Scotland have never had a good reputation for their usefulness. As early as 1779 they were regarded as of little help.

"In our calculation, therefore of the population of Edinburgh, we set aside entirely any consideration of the parish registers."⁹⁶

Overall the survival of registers in Scotland is very poor. This was especially true in the late seventeenth century when "they demand much caution in handling and are unable to bear too great a weight."⁹⁷ The poor reputation that the records possess for both quality and quantity has ensured that they have been neglected by historians in comparison with their counterparts in England. The registers were not kept for their demographic value to future historians but were seen as an extra burden on the shoulders of an already overworked church staff. Consequently the possibility of error in the records is very high. In the Canongate the problem was compounded by the existence of rival sessions at the period of the 'Glorious

Revolution'. This led to parishioners playing off one against the other or even using the facilities of both.

"It being discovered that several of the poor are both in our rolls and those of the meeting house . . . "

"Thomas Mitchell and Margaret Young to compear for fornication before their pretended marriage in the meeting house"

"David Denoon cited three times, the Kirk Officer said his answer was that he had entered with the other session and found caution to satisfy there . . . "98

Thus the usual problem of under-registration is combined with the possibility of double counting.

A major difficulty is that of trying to look at the parish in isolation from the world around it. Situated beside the attractions of Edinburgh it is difficult to be certain that all the vital events were recorded or took place in the parish.⁹⁹ Some, especially marriages, will have taken place in other parishes. It is also possible that weddings may have been celebrated at home instead of the kirk and by a favourite of the couple, not the parish minister. Some instances of this were recorded by the session when it took action against the proceedings on the grounds of 'disorderlie marriage' - presumably the minister being unacceptable. It was comparatively common for women pregnant outside wedlock to attempt to hide in the larger parish of the main city.

"Reported that Janet Mitchell, relict of John Wilson is with child and gone to live in Edinburgh"¹⁰⁰

It is unavoidable that some slight inaccuracies will exist in the records. This may be compounded by residents outwith the

Canongate attempting to avoid the watch of their own parishes by hiding in the suburbs.

Before it is possible to begin a study of the dynamic and comparative aspects of the population history of the parish it is necessary to establish population size. This can be attempted in several ways. The methods based on baptism and burial registers of earlier demographers such as John Graunt and Gregory King can be used. The Canongate is fortunate in having several surviving tax rolls for this period. The Poll and Hearth Taxes were introduced as a means of financing the armed forces. The Hearth Tax assessed the number of hearths and taxed them at a rate of 14/= Scots each. The poor were exempted from payment. The tax had a longer history in Scotland than in England where it was repealed in 1689. The Poll Tax assessed households according to the status of the head and also taxed wives, children and servants. It also exempted the poor from payment. The main difficulty is in deciding whether or not the exempt were listed in the rolls.¹⁰¹ The Poll Tax can be used to calculate the Mean Household Size of the parish while the Hearth Tax can be used as the basis for estimating the population total. Other parish listings such as Communicant Rolls drawn up by the kirk session can also be utilised.

A selection of methods has been used to estimate the size of the population in the parish. One of the basic methods used in the past was to form baptism and burial ratios for the population based on available data such as a listing taken at a point near in time. These rates can then be used with the totals of baptisms

G. KING ¹				JONES & JUDGES ²			
Bap.	Bur.	Bap. ³	Bur.	Bap.	Bur.	Bap. ³	Bur.
4342	6657	4777	6990	3809	4818	4191	5058

- Notes: 1 Baptism 1:28½ of the population Burials 1:30.4 of the population
- 2 Jones & Judges 1:25 of the population Burials 1:22 of the population
- 3 Inflated estimates based on register inaccuracy calculated by J.T. KRAUSE (E.H.R. 1958)

Table 12(a) Canongate Population Totals based on the Baptism and Burial Ratios calculated by Gregory King and Jones and Judges

Year	Baps.	Baps. + 10%	King	King + 10%	Jones & Judges	Jones & Judges + 10%
1686	197	217	5614	6184	4925	5425
1687	190	209	5415	5957	4750	5225
1688	208	229	5928	6527	5200	5725
1689	166	183	4731	5215	4150	4575
1690	158	174	4503	4959	3950	4350
1691	142	156	4047	4446	3550	3900
1692	134	147	3819	4189	3350	3675
1693	122	134	3477	3819	3050	3350
1694	130	143	3705	4075	3250	3575
1695	116	128	3306	3648	2900	3200
1696	113	124	3220	3534	2825	3100

Table 12(b) Number of Baptisms 1686-1696 plus the Population Estimates based on the Ratios of G. King plus Jones and Judges

and burials for the period under study. The result will not be completely accurate but should give a close approximation. Among the first to use this method were John Graunt and Gregory King.¹⁰² Graunt in his Natural and Political Observations made upon the bills of mortality (1662) estimated the population of London from the burials recorded in the Bills of Mortality.¹⁰³ Graunt also believed that baptisms could be used to estimate population change. Gregory King was a near contemporary of Graunt and for a period worked as Lancaster Herald at the College of Arms. His main work - Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England (1696) - was not published during his life-time. King's main work lay in using the Hearth Tax and Marriage Tax (1695) to estimate the population of the various parts of London and the country through the number of occupied houses and a multiplier for the number of residents. He also however calculated a number of rates for baptisms and burials.

	Annual Baptisms	Annual Burials
London	1 in 26.5	1 in 14.1
Cities & Market Towns	1 in 28.5	1 in 30.4
Villages	1 in 29.4	1 in 34.4

Table 13 The Various Baptismal and Burial Rates
Estimated by Gregory King¹⁰⁴

London was unique and the ratios selected for the Canongate were

those for 'cities and market towns' reflecting the smaller size of Edinburgh.

In the 1930's P.E. Jones and A.V. Judges attempted their own estimate for the population of London in the late seventeenth century and compared it with the work of King.¹⁰⁵ They also arrived at burial and baptism rates for estimating the size of the population. Table 12 uses the rates of these demographers to gain an estimate for the size of the Canongate population. Parish registers are not perfect and this leads to error in the calculations.¹⁰⁶ Gregory King believed that 1 in 10 events were not recorded and increased his population totals accordingly. J.T. Krause has estimated that approximately 10% of baptisms and 5% of burials went unrecorded.¹⁰⁷ This estimate has found some support and is used in this study. Estimates are given in Table 12 for the actual number of events (assuming no or very few omissions) and for the events plus 10% or 5% increases. In Table 12(a) totals have been given for both baptisms and burials based on an average of those events over the period 1686 to 1696. Only baptisms can be used to give a dynamic view of population change over the period (Table 12(b)). Little reliance can be placed in the burial data as the base period (1696) reflects a period of crisis - 'King Williams Ill Years'. The population estimate based on the burials is obviously too high (16,000) which suggests instead an increase in recorded burials brought about by unusually high mortality and / or an influx of the poor or hungry into the parish. More reliance can be placed on the baptism figures though the ratios which are based on London may

be too high.

The population can also be calculated by multiplying the number of occupied houses by the Mean Household Size - the method used by Gregory King. The Mean Household Size is calculated by averaging the number of people in households of more than one inhabitant recorded in the Poll Tax.¹⁰⁸ The total of houses recorded in the Hearth Tax and the Annuity Roll can be multiplied by the Mean Household Size to give the total population (see Table 14).

Year	Houses	M.H.S.	Total
1687	826	4.39	3,626
1690	835	4.39 ¹	3,631
1690	835	4.37 ¹	3,732

Table 14 Population Totals based on Mean Household Size
and Contemporary House Listings

As a comparison, the Mean Household Size calculated by Peter Laslett for one hundred English communities is also shown. The Mean Household Size was calculated from a Poll Tax collected in 1694. If this calculation is also appropriate for 1687 it appears that the tax-paying population was stable for at least the first half of the period. Between 1687 and 1690 the population rose to 3,631 from 3,626, a change of only 0.14% in three years. While the totals remained steady, residence patterns changed. A comparison of the 'lands' in which people lived shows that the abodes of a large percentage changed between 1687 and 1690. Too

much should not be read into this change. It would have been caused by normal economic fluctuations - the death of a 'bread-winner', for example, would have forced the 'relict' to find a home at a cheaper rent.

The communicant lists recorded in the mid-1680's can be used to check the other estimates. The lists included all the communicants in the parish, thereby excluding children under the age of 12 to 14.¹⁰⁹ They were only collected in half of the parish at one time - those of 1684 and 1687 comprising the whole parish.¹¹⁰ An allowance of 25% added to the total listing compensates for the absent children. Overall the estimates based on the various tax rolls should be more reliable than the baptism and burial ratios.

1684		1687	
Quarter	Communicants	Quarter	Communicants
5	324	1	342
2? (6?)	361	2	337
Abbey	206	3	357
7	272	4	352
8	361	Potterow	93
Total	1524	Total	1495

Grand Total = 3019

+ 25% = 3774

Table 15 Population Estimate based on Communicant Lists

If the baptism register is reasonably accurate (meaning that Krause's estimate for inaccuracy can be ignored) the results gained by this method are remarkably similar to those gained from the tax rolls. The total calculated from Hearth Tax and the Mean Household Size (3,631) is close to that based on the work of Jones and Judge for the same year - 3,950 (remembering that the London ratio may be too high for Scotland). In its turn the Hearth Roll total is confirmed by the communicant list which over three years covers the whole parish - 3,774. All the variations of calculation suggest that the parish population was just under 4,000 in the middle of the period under study.

The Mean Household Size for the Canongate is very close to that calculated by Peter Laslett for one hundred sample parishes.¹¹¹ The disadvantage of this calculation is that it ignores the problem of doubt over the exemptions from the taxes. Their inclusion or exclusion would affect the final figure. All methods of calculating population size suffer from drawbacks, usually involving the poor section of the community. For this reason the Mean Household Size calculated for the Canongate is unlikely to be any less reliable than those calculated for elsewhere. It is safe to say that the parish of the Canongate had a total population of just under 4,000 in 1690.

The tax rolls suggest a parish that was essentially stable in size, increasing from 3,626 in 1687 to 3,631 in 1690. In contrast the baptism totals suggest that the parish was rapidly declining - taking Jones and Judge's figures - from 4,925 in 1686 to 2,825 in 1696. The easy answer would be that the Old Parish Records are,

as in so many parishes, incomplete. Some grounds for suspecting this do exist. The beginning of the 1690's was a period of disruption in the Church of Scotland : the episcopalian system was being overthrown by the monarchy in favour of presbyterian government due to the former's inability to renounce its support of James VII. It is possible that the supporters of the old order would be unwilling to partake of the services of the new. Indeed there is evidence of private (secret) baptisms and marriages.

"Richard Bailie has baptized Thomas Caldwell's child in his own house."¹¹²

The major fall in baptisms also appears to take place after 1689. During the transition of kirk authority the new session may not have been able to exert the moral authority of its predecessor and thus some illegitimate births may have gone unrecorded.

"Janet Weir compeired and confessed that she had brought forth her child and it was baptised by one Mr. Kirk . . . "¹¹³

Though the theory of incomplete records may be attractive it is by no means water-tight. The completeness of parish register material can be checked by a comprehensive battery of tests.¹¹⁴

In order to conduct such tests, the Registers should have at least one hundred recorded events, for example fifty baptisms, forty burials and fifteen weddings. Under one hundred it is difficult to decide whether below average years are due to under-registration or changes in the number of events. If a long run of years is being considered, it is necessary to check for gaps. Assuming a suitable run of years has been found it is also necessary to look at the records month by month - a gap

indicating under-registration. A change in minister or clerk could affect the quality of registration and this should be investigated. In the Canongate there was a change in church government which resulted in a change in the style of recording. Though each state had only one established church, dissenting denominations did exist, and the parish should be checked to see if there was a significant section not likely to make use of the official church and its services. There was religious dissent in the Canongate, but it took an organised form and kept registers of a high quality which still survive. Before the Presbyterians were permitted to meet in the Meeting House it is possible that some refused to attend the parish kirk. There were isolated occasions when 'coventicles' were reported in the parish but not to any significant degree. This was a problem common to the majority of Scottish parishes and the Canongate should not be disqualified for this reason. In fact, the Canongate satisfies all the tests enumerated above. This suggests that for baptisms at least the records may very well be accurate.

If the trend in baptisms is studied in the years leading up to the period under study it becomes obvious that the decline began long before the change in church government. Figure 3 records baptisms by quarter from 1680. The decline begins in 1684 after baptisms had remained around sixty per quarter for several years. The same phenomenon is shown in Figure 4 which is a five year moving average used to smooth out any brief variations. The decline came to a halt after 1693-1695 when the baptism rate seems to have stabilised though at a much lower

FIGURE 23

NUMBER OF REFUGES PER COUNTRY IN THE
CENTURIES 1700-1700 and 1705.

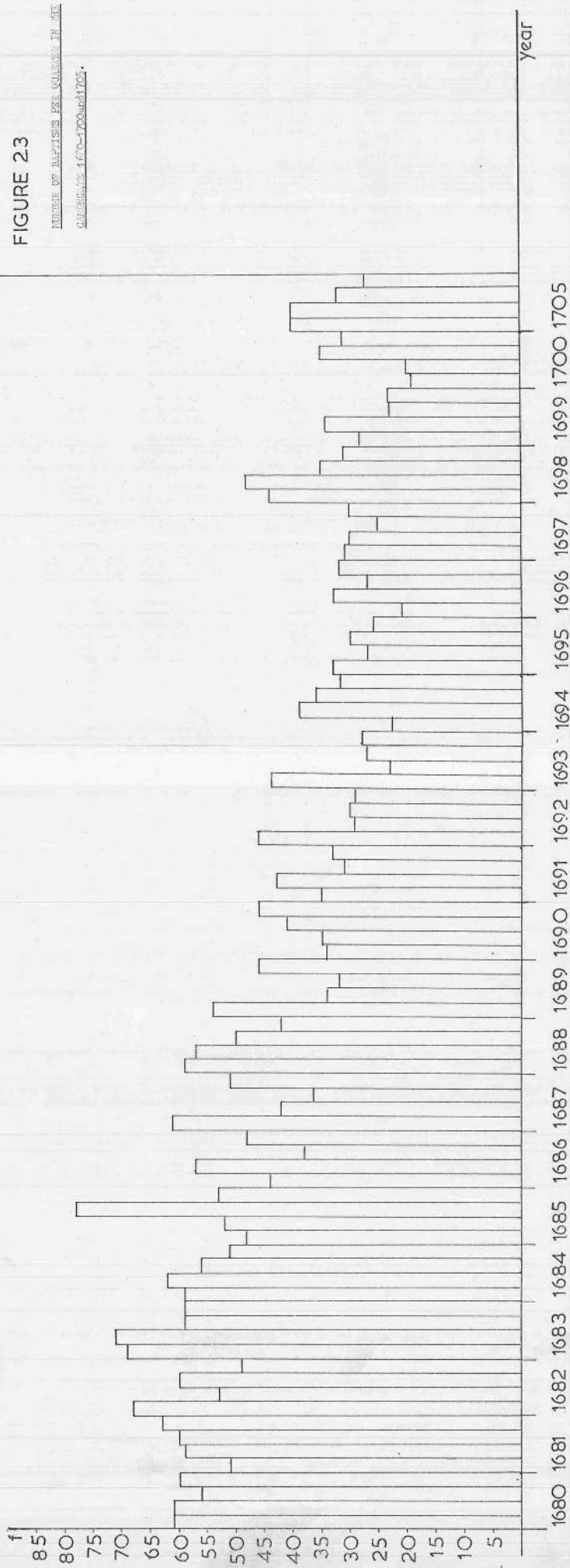
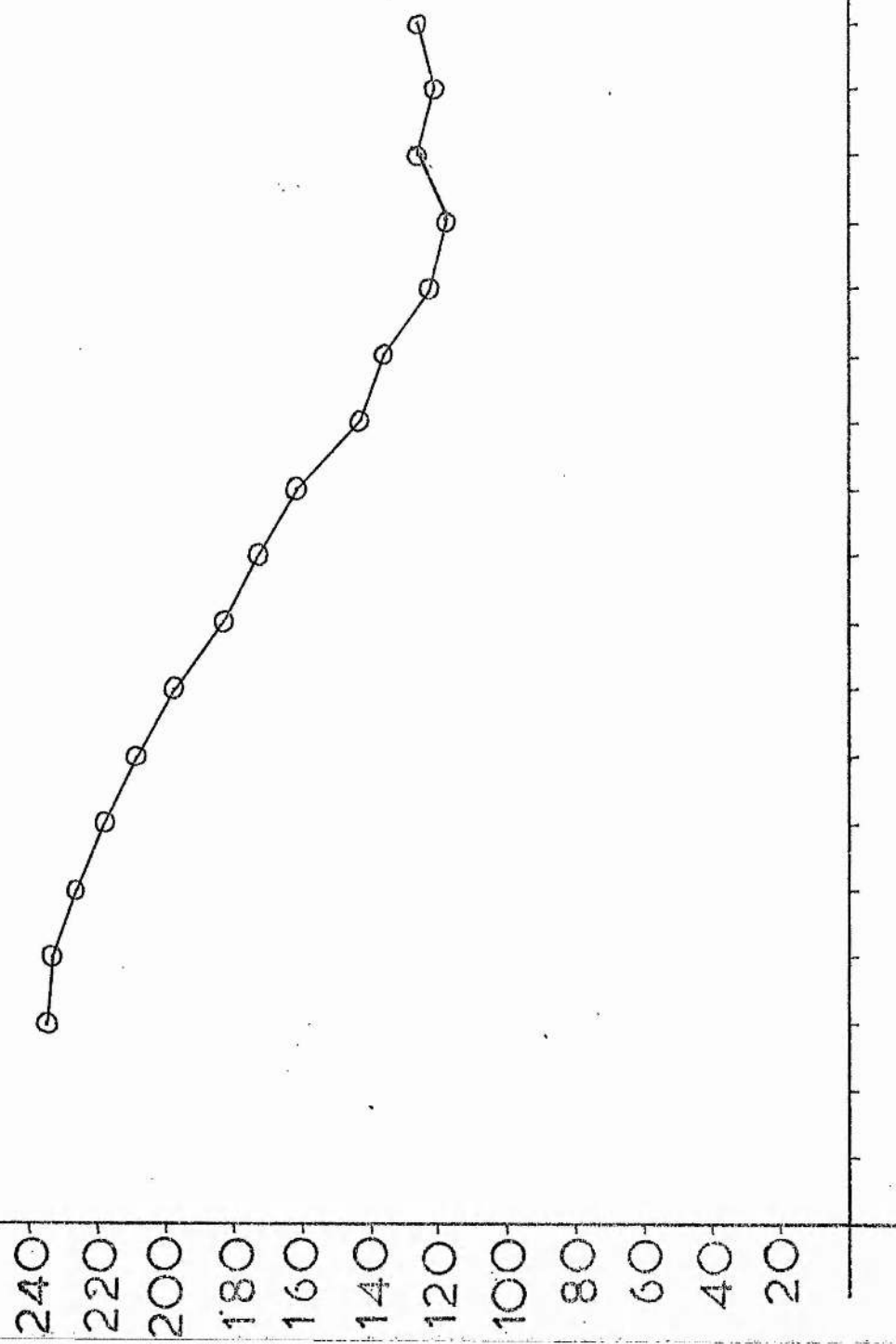


FIGURE 2.4

FIVE YEAR MOVING AVERAGE OF "APTISLS"

RECORDED IN 'H' CANONGATE 1680-1700.



'80 '81 '82 '83 '84 '85 '86 '87 '88 '89 '90 '91 '92 '93 '94 '95 '96 '97 '98 '99 1700

level. We may well, then, be dealing with a real phenomenon of population decline in the Canongate in the last two decades of the seventeenth century.

B) Migration

In the short-run, any population pressures on the parish would appear from outside its boundaries in the form of migration. Two motives for domestic migration have been identified by Peter Clark - 'betterment' and 'subsistence'. Edinburgh was the largest urban market in Scotland (indeed in the island with the exception of London). As such it exercised an attraction to many skilled in a trade and dissatisfied with the prospects in their own burghs. Admittance into the Canongate would have been a first step to gaining admittance to the capital itself. As the Canongate had trading privileges in Edinburgh, becoming a burghess of the burgh would have satisfied many craftsmen and merchants. The craft guilds formed an effective barrier to gaining admittance determined as they were that the supply of skills should not overwhelm the demand for their use. Those who paid for the poor relief were also concerned lest those admitted should become a burden on the available resources.

The unemployed flocked towards the larger towns encouraged by rumours of cheap grain, employment or at least relief. Edinburgh was the largest urban development in Scotland and the Canongate was known to be the home of many rich and important people. For these reasons both burghs were the targets of the rural destitute.¹¹⁵ The city was also a major communications centre situated close to an important port (Leith). This meant

that the poor relief authorities also had to deal with many travellers too poor to continue their journey or determined to remain in the city.¹¹⁶

The attraction of the poor to Edinburgh would have depended partly on the generosity of the poor relief authorities. This has been a subject of much debate in recent years. Traditionally the Scottish system was seen as miserly and rigorously selective in the granting of relief.¹¹⁷ In the past decade historians have begun to see the Scottish authorities in a better light.¹¹⁸ As R.A. Cage has emphasised, the problem is exacerbated by ambiguities in the laws and by value judgement about the effectiveness of the payments.¹¹⁹ Those who see the Scots Laws as inadequate and harsh, base much of their attack on the lack of a compulsory 'stent' to support the poor. However in many cases, including that of the Canongate, voluntary collections were sufficient to meet the needs of the parish - in normal circumstances. In an emergency, kirk sessions did have the power to enforce a compulsory stent in conjunction with the heritors. The detractors (or in some cases admirers) of the Scottish system reply that the able-bodied were not eligible for relief. While this may have been the case in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, it most certainly was not true in the Canongate in the late seventeenth century. The records show that relief was given not only to the parish able-bodied but also to strangers. An urban area, with a greater concentration of stent payers would have been better placed to support the burden of the poor than the rural areas from which many of the recipients

originated. Poor Relief was reasonably generous in Edinburgh and this was an added incentive for the destitute to migrate to the city.

There are two main sources available for the investigation of migration - poor relief accounts and the records of the Incorporations.¹²⁰ With the former there are some difficulties in calculating the number of strangers assisted by the session. The entries in the accounts were of standard form, such as 'poor men', 'ane distrest man' or 'a stranger'. Due to this it is only possible to roughly estimate the number of strangers in the accounts.

Year	Old Kirk Session	Meeting House	Total
1686	34		34
1687	68		68
1688	40		40
1689	(2 mths) 5	26	31
1690	(11 mths) 31	50	81
1691		32 (+12?)	44?
1692		45 (+?)	45?
1693		(6 mths) 12	

Table 16 Estimate of the Number of Strangers
Receiving Aid in the Canongate

The table shows the number of strangers, not the number of times they may have received assistance.

In an attempt to minimise 'double-counting', where the same term was used in consecutive weeks, it has been assumed to refer to the same recipient. It has also been assumed that where a

recipient's name was known to the session he or she was not a stranger (unless the records indicate otherwise). The totals in Table 16 are therefore likely to be an underestimate of the total. Even at the level recorded there was clearly a considerable movement of strangers through the burgh. Strangers who received relief, however, were only a minority of those in the parish. The difference between the population calculated by baptisms (a minimum of 4,000) and that calculated from tax rolls (3,630) gives a rough estimation of the possible number of paupers and vagrants in the parish - approximately 400. This total depends of course on the accuracy of the records, but its general plausibility is supported by the work of Paul Slack in Salisbury who calculated that the poor would form at least 5% of the population. This would give the Canongate a minimum of 200.¹²¹

The importance of the city as a communications centre and the size of foreign migration is also highlighted by the poor relief accounts. The homelands of recipients included France, Ireland, England, Holland, Denmark, Hungary and Greece. European political events are reflected in the plight of these travellers - victims of religious intolerance in France and Ireland; wounded soldiers from various armies; ministers without stipends and impoverished gentlemen. The burden of caring for so many strangers was heavy. The increase in the poor of the parish was a worry and a challenge to the established and prosperous inhabitants.

The Incorporation records refer to a different type of migrant - one who could be an asset to the burgh, providing skills and perhaps

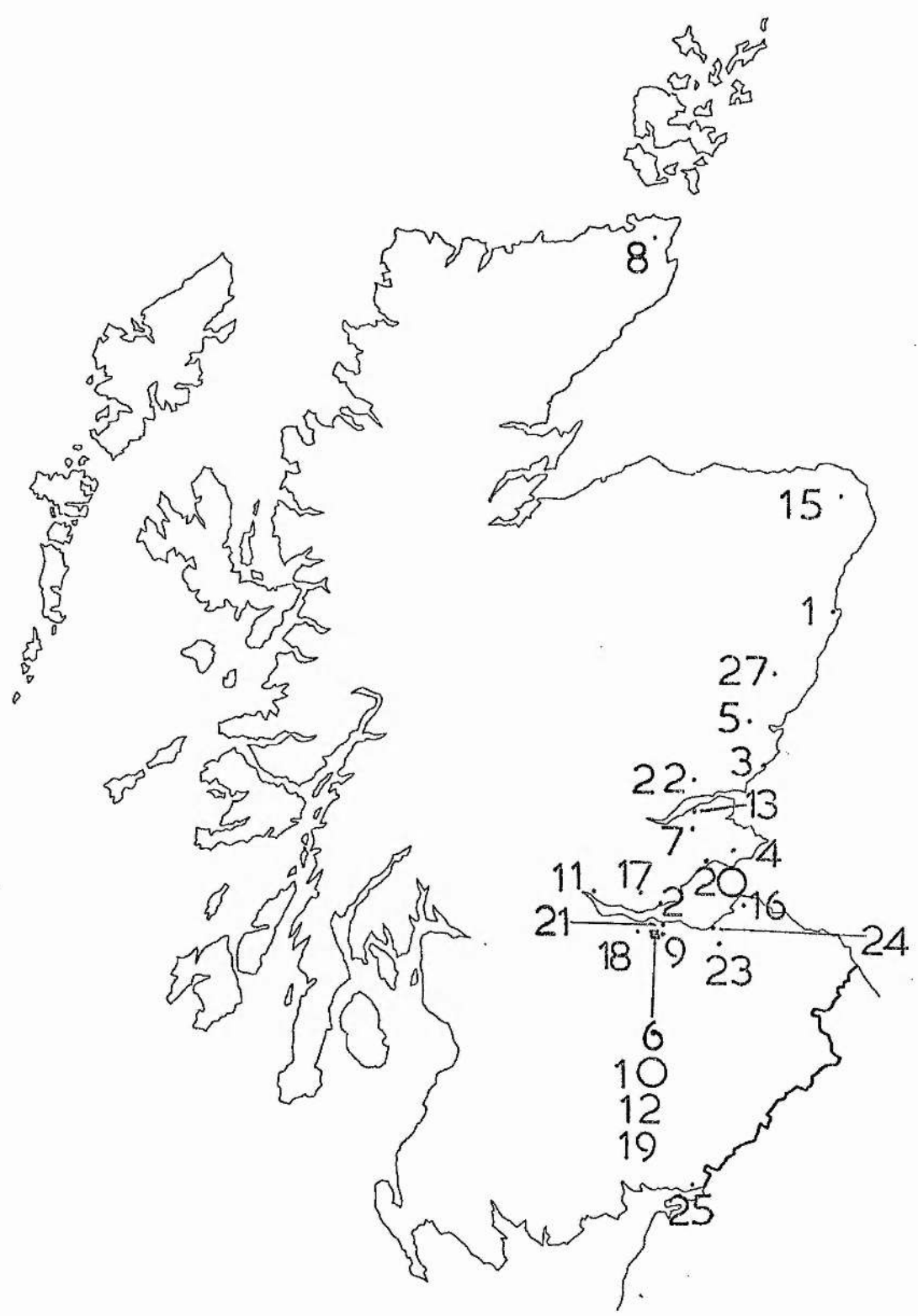
wealth. During the period 1686 to 1696 only two qualified craftsmen were admitted as burgesses and freemen. This may be a slight underestimate as only five of the eight crafts have records surviving from this period.¹²² It was also possible to enter the Crafts as an apprentice. Of the fifty-three admitted during this period, only fifteen came from the Canongate. (Table 17 and Figure 4). The burgh would not benefit from these prospective craftsmen in the short-term but only if they remained in the burgh after their training. Before this they could be a source of disorder and annoyance in the burgh.¹²³

Place of Origin	Number	Place of Origin	Number
1 Aberdeen	1	15 Crimond	1
2 Aberdour	2	16 Dirletoune	1
3 Auchineden	1	17 Dunfermling	1
4 Ballgarie	1	18 Duntarvie	1
5 Breichen	1	19 Edinburgh	5
6 Broughton	1	20 Methil	1
7 Brunstoune	1	21 Leith	3
8 Caithness	1	22 Newlyrs	1
9 Canongate	15	23 Ormistoune	1
10 Canonmills	1	24 Prestonpans	1
11 Clackmanan	1	25 Rigg	1
12 Corstorphine	2	26 Stonemilne	1
13 Creich	1	27 Strathare	1
14 Unknown	5	TOTAL	53

Table 17 The Origins of the Canongate Apprentices

The area north of the Tay supplies 13% of the apprentices. This reflects the 'metropolitan' status of Edinburgh. Merchants along the coast were in contact with the capital by sea and would have had 'contacts' who could place their sons in apprenticeships

THE ORIGINS OF APPRENTICES LISTED IN THE RECORDS OF THE
CANONGATE INCORPORATIONS.



In this, Edinburgh was poorly imitating the attraction of London to merchants and craftsmen from all over England.

The burgh council was also able to attract migrants to the Canongate by offering to admit them as burgesses. In the period 1691 to 1696, thirty-four persons outwith the burgh were admitted.¹²⁴

In the majority of cases the award was purely honorary and an attempt to gain the favour of an influential person who had no intention of migrating to the burgh. In the records these are described as for "services rendered" or "gratis". A present day equivalent would be the Honorary degrees awarded by universities. The Canongate would not have been the only burgh to honour "Sir Thomas Livingston, Commander of their Majesties Forces in Scotland for most generous and good deeds". In this instance the magistrates were probably trying to obtain a reduction in the number of troops quartered in the burgh. The number of awards which led to a person contributing to the economic base of the burgh was small.

Origin	Honorary	"Working"
Edinburgh	27	-
Elsewhere	3	4

Table 18 The Number of Honorary Burgess-ships
Awarded from 1691 to 1696

New blood in the parish can also be measured in the parish marriage registers. It was common, especially in a large city, for

couples from different parishes to marry. In marriages involving one stranger, an absence of further records for the couple in the Canongate implies that they did not reside there (Table 19). Overall there was a net outflow of couples - thirty six departing and only twenty-three remaining. This should not be seen as a dramatic movement but one of usually only a short distance into Edinburgh. When the stranger was male it was logical for him to reside in his own parish where he was already accepted and where his economic roots would have been already established. The effect of this outflow depends very much on the status of those involved - craftsmen would have been missed more than alesellers.

Stranger	No Later Record	Later Record
Male	26	10
Female	10	13
Both	13	-
Total	49	23

Table 19 Residential Stability of Marriages Involving
at Least One Stranger to the Canongate

Taken together, the records suggest that the Canongate may not have been attracting sufficient replacement residents. This would have put additional pressures onto the shoulders of the declining number of established citizens. Further clues may emerge by examining household size and structure.

C) Household Structure

The 1694 Poll Tax while only covering 46% of the occupied housing in the parish, does go into considerable detail about occupations, wealth and the structure of the households. It was not unusual for a tax roll to cover only part of the parish - other listings followed the same practice.¹²⁵ The section of the parish covered by the roll is not indicated on the survey, however, comparisons with other tax rolls suggest that Quarters 4 to 7 are listed. If the tax is to be used to study household structures it is vital to decide whether or not this area was representative of the parish as a whole. The Canongate covered a small geographical area and it is possible that there was not room for the growth of separate wealth or social divisions. In Edinburgh the wealthy favoured the higher apartments in the 'lands', not their own select ghettos.¹²⁶

In an effort to discover the distribution of wealth over the parish, the Annuity Tax was used to compare the rents paid in the various quarters (Table 20). Both the break-down of the rent levels in each quarter and the percentage of similar levels in every quarter were studied. Variations did exist between the quarters but no single area stands out from all the rest with the exceptions of 'Abbey' and 'Potterow' both of which had only a few houses. The quarters recorded in the Poll Tax are representative of the burgh as a whole and it is legitimate to use the tax in studying household structure. The poor are the one section of the community not represented in the Poll Tax. This section would probably have a higher proportion of children and females to judge

Quarter Rent (£ Scots)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Abbey	Potterow	Total
0 - 10	9	14	29	19	46	36	18	27		3	201
11 - 20	33	12	29	27	41	30	17	33	13	14	249
21 - 30	25	6	16	19	20	21	11	22	4	4	148
31 - 40	10	11	9	11	4	7	10	21	4	2	89
41 - 50	7	9	5	4		3	4	11	4	1	48
51 - 60	4	7	4	3		2	1	5	1		27
61 - 70		6	4	3	4		1	2			20
71 - 80	3	1	1	2		1	1	3			12
81 - 90	1				1		1				3
91 - 100		2		7	1	1	4		1	1	17
101 - 110								1			1
111 - 120			1			3		2			6
121 - 200			1			3	2	4	1		11
201 - 300			1	1		4	3		2		11
301 - 400								1			1
401 and over							1		1		2
Total	92	68	100	96	117	111	74	132	31	25	846

Table 20(a) Distribution of Apartments by Rental between the 'Quarters'

Quarter Rent (£ Scots)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Abbey	Potterow
0 - 10	4.47	6.96	14.42	9.45	22.88	17.91	8.95	13.43		1.49
11 - 20	13.25	4.81	11.64	10.84	16.46	12.04	6.82	13.25	5.22	5.62
21 - 30	16.89	4.05	10.81	12.83	13.51	14.18	7.43	14.86	2.70	2.70
31 - 40	11.23	12.35	10.11	12.35	4.49	7.86	11.23	23.59	4.49	2.24
41 - 50	14.58	18.75	10.41	8.33		6.25	8.33	22.91	8.33	2.08
51 - 60	14.81	25.92	14.81	11.11		7.40	3.70	18.51	3.70	
61 - 70		30.00	20.00	15.00	20.00		5.00	10.00		
71 - 80	25.00	8.33	8.33	16.66		8.33	8.33	25.00		
81 - 90	33.33				33.33		33.33			
91 - 100		11.76		14.17	5.88	5.88	23.52		5.88	5.88
101 - 110								100.00		
111 - 120			16.66			50.00		33.33		
121 - 200			9.09			27.27	18.18	36.36	9.09	
201 - 300			9.09	9.09		36.36	27.27		18.18	
301 - 400								100.00		
401 and over							50.00		50.00	

Table 20(b) Percentage Distribution of Rents between the 'Quarters'

Quarter Rent (£ Scots)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Abbey	Potterow
0 - 10	9.78	20.58	29.00	19.79	39.31	32.40	24.32	20.15		12.00
11 - 20	35.86	17.64	29.00	28.12	35.04	27.02	22.97	25.00	41.93	56.00
21 - 30	27.17	8.82	16.00	19.79	17.09	18.91	14.86	16.66	12.90	16.00
31 - 40	10.86	16.17	9.00	11.45	3.41	6.30	13.51	15.90	12.90	8.00
41 - 50	7.60	13.23	5.00	4.16		2.70	5.40	8.33	12.90	4.00
51 - 60	4.34	10.29	4.00	3.12		1.80	1.35	3.78	3.22	
61 - 70		8.82	4.00	3.12	3.41		1.35	1.51		
71 - 80	3.26	1.47	1.00	2.08		0.90	1.35	2.27		
81 - 90	1.08				0.85		1.35			
91 - 100		2.94		7.29	0.85	0.90	5.40		3.22	4.00
101 - 110			1.00			2.70		0.75		
111 - 121			1.00			2.70	2.70	1.51		
121 - 200			1.00			3.60	4.05	3.03	3.22	
201 - 300				1.04				0.75	6.45	
301 - 400							1.35		3.22	
401 and over										

Table 20(c) Percentage Distribution of Rents within the 'Quarters'

by other evidence from the period.¹²⁷ The effect of including this group in Table 21 would be to weigh the sex ratio even further against the males and to increase the proportion of children in the society.

Overall the results conform with those of other early modern urban units. Servants and children make up just over 50% of the population - slightly more if apprentices are included.

		Number	Percentage
Male	Married	288	17.46
Adults	Single	10	0.606
	Widowers	16	0.97
Female	Married	299	18.13
Adults	Single	11	0.66
	Widows	73	4.42
Children	16 or over	166	10.06
	under 16	388	20.49
Servants	Male	94	5.70
	Female	235	14.25
	Unknown	8	0.485
Apprentices		111	6.73
			100.00

Table 21(a) A Survey of the Residents of the Canongate

	Number	Percentage	Laslett Percentages
Children	504	30.7	42.6
Servants	337	20.4	13.4
Apprentices	111	6.7	
	952	57.8	

Table 21(b) Percentage of children and servants compared with those for 100 sample communities

The results differ from the findings of Peter Laslett in that there are more servants and fewer children present.¹²⁸ This perhaps reflects the Canongate's role as a 'service' burgh and as a dormitory district of Edinburgh for the gentry plus the fall of baptisms recorded in the parish registers which may have lead to an 'ageing' of the population. A higher proportion of servants were needed to maintain the gentry, merchants and wealthy craftsmen. As servants were normally unmarried there would be fewer couples available to produce children. The very small percentage of single men (0.606%) supports the idea that true manhood was not considered to have been reached until the male was married.¹²⁹ Entrance to the Incorporations as a freeman was also blocked until the prospective entrant had entered into matrimony. Marriage was a high priority once apprenticeship was over. Indeed, some apprentices ignored the terms of their indentures and married before their training was complete.

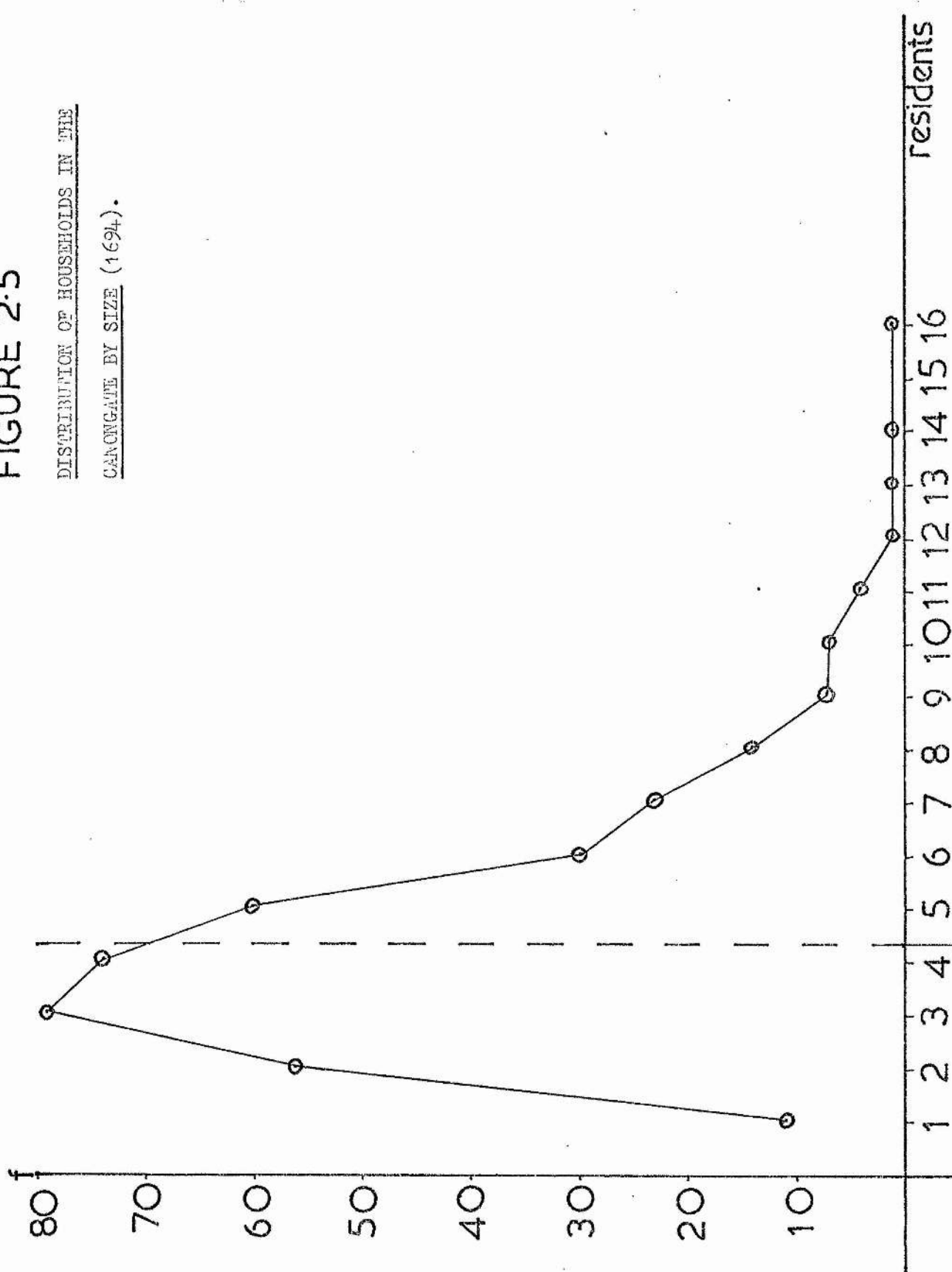
"James Rankine ffeltnakers prentice
Anna Dewar his wife"¹³⁰

The distribution of households by size was positively skewed (see Figure 5) and similar to that found for one hundred English communities by Peter Laslett.¹³¹ The only major difference was that the Canongate had a higher proportion of large households. This reflects the number of wealthy residents who required a higher ratio of servants rather than large kin groupings.

FIGURE 2.5

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN THE

CANONGATE BY SIZE (1994).



Household Size	Number	%			Coventry	Laslett's 100 Communities
1	12	3.2]	[
2	56	15.1	]	39.6	57.4	36.3
3	79	21.3]	[
4	74	20.0	]	36.2	24.3	30.5
5	60	16.2]	[
6	30	8.1]	[
7	23	6.2]	[
8	14	3.8]	[
9	7	1.9]	[
10	7	1.9	]	24.2	18.4	33.2
11	4	1.1]	[
12	1	0.3]	[
13	1	0.3]	[
14	1	0.3]	[
16	1	0.3]	[
		100.00				
Lodgers	14					

Table 22 Distribution of Households by Size compared with
Phythian-Adams and Laslett

The pattern in the Canongate of the distribution of households by the status of the head is also similar to other studies (Table 23). The most significant difference is the higher proportion of 'widowed' heads combined with fewer single householders.¹³² This in part reflects the pressure exerted by society to marry. Interestingly the roll included several widows carrying on the trade of their deceased spouses. In Scotland the trades were more agreeable to this practice than

(a)	Sex	Status	Number	%
	Male	Married	289	75.6
		Single		
		Widower	8	2.1
		Not known	4	1.0
	Female	Married	3	0.8
		Widow	54	14.1
		Single	4	1.0
		Not known	3	0.8
	Not Known		17	4.5
				100.0

(b)	Coventry	One hundred Communities	Canongate
Couples	75.6	70.4	76.4
Widows	12.1	12.9	16.2
Single women & not known	7.6	3.4	1.8
Single men & not known	4.7	12.3	1.0

Table 23 Households by Sex and Status of Head
compared with Coventry and One Hundred
Sample Communities

was the case in England where strong curbs were put on such behaviour.¹³³

	Number	%	Sex Ratios	
Males	619	37.5	Overall	81.1
Females	763	46.3	Servants	40.0
Not Known	267	16.2	Children	68.9
	1,649	100.0		

Table 24 Sex Ratios in the Canongate

The sex ratio at birth was weighted against the female population, which formed approximately 49% of newly born babies.¹³⁴ This was to counter-balance the higher neo-natal and peri-natal mortality rates among male children. By the time maturity was reached the sex ratio normally favoured females - at least in urban areas. In this the Canongate follows the general pattern. However when compared with the findings of other historians, the imbalance of the ratio is much stronger.

Dr. Laslett's figures are for rural parishes over a long time period.¹³⁵ The comparatively small imbalance may be caused by more females than males going to urban areas, which in turn partly explains the very pronounced bias in favour of females in the Canongate. The strong bias in favour of females becomes even more intriguing when compared with the findings of Dr. Phythian-Adams for Coventry.¹³⁶ These findings - which

the author thought to be extreme - are not as pronounced as those of the Scottish burgh. The sex ratio goes some way towards explaining why the Scottish crafts were willing to allow widows to continue the trade of their deceased husbands - the supply of potential spouses could not meet the demand for husbands.

One Hundred Communities	Adults	106.6	]	91.3
	Servants			
	Children			91.4
Canongate	Adults	82	]	66
	Servants	40		
	Children			68.9
Coventry	Adults	82.3	]	72
	Servants	55		
	Children			128.9
	(Broadgate only)			

Laslett & Walls p.148 Table 4.10, p.152 Table 4.13, p.145 Table 4.7

Table 25 Canongate Sex Ratios compared with
P. Laslett's 100 Communities and Coventry

Overall, the household structure of the Canongate while having its own peculiarities broadly conformed to the pattern for urban areas discovered by other historians in their own studies. The major differences are the large number of widows and the strong bias in the sex ratio in favour of women. It would seem logical that the former was a result of the latter.

(iv) AN URBAN CRISIS?

The strong imbalance of the sex ratio could have had greater significance than it merely being difficult for widows to re-marry. Dr. Phythian-Adams argues that the low sex ratio in Coventry was one of the reasons for that city entering long-term decline.¹³⁷ In the Canongate the sex ratio was even lower. According to Dr. Phythian-Adams this suggests that there was a shortage of male workmen in the economy. The trades needed a certain number of servants and apprentices to insure that the skills involved were perpetuated. If the sex ratio meant that the number of male servants had fallen below that level, it was likely that the trades concerned would go into decline. The sex ratio in Coventry indicates that this had happened to some crafts. As the ratio in the Canongate was even more extreme this suggests that the burgh was entering a similar crisis.

The existence of a crisis does not rest on such evidence alone. The rapid de-population of the city was also a feature of the crisis in Coventry.¹³⁸ As we have seen, the 'aggregative analysis' forms for baptisms in the Canongate (Tables A-C) show that the number of events was declining rapidly. The forms also show that there was no strong seasonal variation which might explain the fall in terms of bad harvests or other natural causes. The reason could be that there were fewer people in the parish - that as in Coventry steady depopulation was taking place.

The suddenness of the decline is illustrated by Figures 3 and 4. Beginning gradually around 1683, the fall had all but ceased by 1694 when a new plateau had been reached which continued into the early eighteenth century. Going further back into the seventeenth century, the rate of baptisms had been remarkably stable over a long period of time and had, if anything, been gradually rising (Table 26).

Year	Number
1668	161
1669	180
1670	190
1671	182
1672	180

Table 26 Number of Baptisms per Annum 1668-1672¹³⁸

In tandem with the fall in baptisms, the number of marriages celebrated was also in decline. The trend was neither as rapid nor as obvious as that of baptisms but it was none the less present. As the aggregative analysis (Tables D-E) shows, the number of events was smaller and therefore less reliable than baptisms yet the overall trend is downwards.

The drop in population was substantial as well as rapid. By 1696 the population had fallen to a level of 3,000 from 5,000 plus just ten years earlier - a decline of 43%. It is possible to attribute this fall in baptisms to several other causes apart from a fall in population. The most obvious is a decline in

fertility in the parish. This would neutralise baptisms as a method of calculating the size of the population. In Table 12 it was assumed that the baptism rate per thousand of the population remained constant, implying that a fall in baptisms was caused by a fall in the population. If the fertility rate was changing then the number of baptisms could fall while the population size was unchanged. Historical demographers are placing more emphasis on fertility as the most effective brake on population growth.¹⁴⁰ Fertility would be lowered by fewer and later marriages combined with the use of some type of primitive birth control such as 'coitus interruptus'. The trend in marriages was downwards but it is difficult to confirm whether or not they were also taking place at a later age without recourse to family reconstruction. The conscious decision to lower fertility would only take place as the result of a crisis or the expectation of one. The later years of the 1680's and the early 1690's are considered to have been comparatively good years on the eastern coast of Scotland with the harvest crisis of 'King William's Ill Years' not commencing until 1695.¹⁴¹ Smallpox was present to a limited degree and there was the political and religious upheaval of 1688 to 1690 : but these alone were unlikely to have caused a change in demographic patterns. The Fiars prices for Midlothian suggest that harvests and food prices were unlikely to have been a major problem. A small peak occurred in 1690 but was still lower than the price reached in the most favourable of the crisis years at the end of the decade. Until 1695

the price rise was unlikely to have a serious effect on an urban parish situated close to a major port.

Year	Price	Year	Price
1680	4 16 00	1690	6 13 06
1681	5 06 08	1691	4 08 00
1682	5 12 00	1692	4 03 04
1683	4 13 04	1693	4 04 00
1684	4 08 00	1694	4 08 00
1685	4 06 08	1695	7 15 00
1686	4 05 00	1696	11 12 00
1687	4 09 00	1697	7 09 08
1688	5 00 00	1698	13 04 00
1689	5 08 00	1699	10 00 00

Table 27 Midlothian Fiars Prices (£ Scots per boll) 1680-1699

(from M. Flinn 'Scottish Population History')

The main increase in prices occurred after baptisms had stabilised at their new, lower plateau. Fertility can only be measured accurately through the techniques of family reconstruction which are outside the scope of this survey. It is dangerous to assume anything, but with the absence of positive evidence to the contrary it is probable that the decline in baptisms was not caused by a fall in the fertility level. If this is the case the most probable alternative explanation is a fall in population.

A fall in population could be caused by a rise in mortality or a fall in fertility. The latter is very unlikely as it has already been decided that the fall in baptisms was

not caused by this. A rise in mortality sufficiently pronounced to cause such rapid depopulation could only be the result of pestilence or famine. Neither of these are recorded as being present between 1685 and 1695. The reason for the decline must lie in another quarter. Evidence is available from several sources which suggests that economic decline may have led to migration away from the parish.

The Canongate had for long been the residence of those who had an interest in the activities of the royal court, Parliament and the work of government in general. This is immediately apparent from the tax rolls which indicate the number of residences belonging to the gentry and nobility. In turn those who sought employment with the nation's elite were attracted to the burgh. At the beginning of the seventeenth century Scotland's monarch had moved south to reside in London. The visits north, originally promised for every three years were, in reality, much more infrequent.¹⁴² James VI came once in 1617, Charles I in 1633 and 1641 while his son, Charles II, never came north after 1660. James, Duke of Albany, resided in Edinburgh in 1680 and 1681, but never returned as monarch. In fact Charles I's visit in 1641 was the last by a reigning monarch until 1824 when George IV visited Edinburgh. The Scottish Parliament and the General Assembly met on neither a frequent nor regular basis.¹⁴³ Only the Privy Council and the senior courts (the High Court of Judiciary and Court of Session) remained as attractions to the ambitious. It is little wonder that a member of the gentry or

nobility, with his eye on patronage or court life found little reason to remain in the Canongate. Over the years there was a steady migration south towards the more lucrative pleasures of England's capital city.

"O Canongate, poor el ritch hole!
What loss, what crosses dost thou thole
London and death gar thee look droll
And hing thy head."¹⁴⁴

In form, this crisis was very similar to that of Coventry which suffered a loss of population when the Reformation destroyed the pilgrimages, ecclesiastical courts and abbeys. Like Coventry, the Canongate had lost much of its economic 'raison d'etre'.¹⁴⁵

The reality of an economic malaise is supported by the records of the crafts. The Incorporation minutes show that only two qualified craftsmen were admitted to the burgh in this period. If the Canongate had entered a depression, caused by the decline in the importance of Edinburgh as a political centre, few newcomers would have wanted - or been allowed - to compete with the traders already established. Overall the variety of occupations does not appear to have suffered. Though in Tables 1 and 2 it was the proportions of the work force involved in the occupations that are measured, these could remain the same while the numbers were declining. The proportion of workers involved in the 'luxury good' market shows a slight decline from 3.49% to 3.04% in 1694. This may reflect a shrinkage of the market or it may be that the numbers recorded are too small to be significant. Quantitatively, the strength of the burgh lay in the traditional urban occupations. For these to survive the burgh need to grow and prosper - houses had to be built, people

clothed and homes improved. If those who could most afford home improvements and expensive clothes left the burgh then the trades involved - the biggest employers in the parish - would go into decline. Such a blow would affect the whole burgh - suggesting that the Canongate was suffering from some type of 'visceral' crisis. A similar pattern of events can be seen all over Britain today. When a major employer, such as British Steel, closes in a small town, the consequences spread like ripples in a pond. Those who supplied the company also go out of business, the large number of unemployed can no longer afford certain luxuries leading eventually to more unemployment until a whole network of poverty affects even the suppliers of necessities - bakers, butchers and grocers.

That the Canongate was facing such a crisis is corroborated by the records of Edinburgh's Burgh Council. The minutes suggest an added reason apart from decline in status - the quartering of government troops. In 1687 and 1688 the stent was reduced by 25% because of the burden this was putting on the burgh.¹⁴⁶ The reduction in taxes was to become a common occurrence in the following decade. Between 1690 and 1696 the stent was reduced five times.¹⁴⁷ On the 5th July 1693, the burgh was forced to enter a petition stating some of the problems.

" . . . shewing that where the Canongate hes for severall years most sadly groaned under great and deplorable burdens (as at present it doeth) throw the constant and perpetuall quartering of their Majesties forces and other incidnets . . . wher by the same is almost incredibly despauperate (the third part therof being waist). That which is possest a third doune the rent and the possessors therof for the most part but a few poore people

who have scarcely to supplie ther indigencie except some noblemans lodgeings who are fixed at a certain valuation . . . and all the lands within the precinct of the Abbay . . . bears no burden with us All which will be ane third of our valuation (being the best houses and possest by the ablest inhabitants) And also that of betwixt twenty and threthy tavernes and change houses whilk sometime were in the place, ther is not now two that can give any suitable intertainment all which is publickly knowen officially . . ."148

Even allowing for the probability that the 'heritors and poor inhabitants' went to extremes in order to gain relief it is clear that all was not well in the parish. Emphasis, if needed, was given some years earlier when it was decided that the Canongate bonnetmakers should be relieved of paying the stent as 'their number is now reduced to six, three of whom are aged, and all their trade is gone'.¹⁴⁹

The surviving tax rolls are of little assistance in observing changes in wealth. Individually they do not indicate that the burgh was in decline. A comparative study of the rolls is needed to check decline and this is ruled out by the taxes recording different indicators of wealth. Yet there can be little doubt that the burgh was facing a time of difficulty. The Canongate was not unique in this. Scotland as a whole faced economic problems in this period caused by the Williamite wars and the policy of protectionism pursued by the English. Scotland found itself discriminated against by the increasingly protectionist trading system linking England, Ireland and the plantations. Economic decline could have caused the depopulation witnessed by the baptism records. The Canongate was no longer the attraction it once was to affluent migrants (though it was

obviously still frequented by the poor) while many of those who had lived by their trade with the wealthy left the parish. The servants would follow their masters south while some would look for healthier markets in Scotland. The economic fortunes of the Canongate were in contrast to the growth of Edinburgh noted by Professor S.G.E. Lythe who claims "its [Edinburgh] own industrial life matched its commercial in variety and vigour".¹⁵⁰ The Canongate had entered a period of what was, at best, stagnation. Webster's census of 1755 shows that the burgh still had a population of only 4,500¹⁵¹ - the same level that it had attained in the mid-1680's.

To an extent, the rapid demographic and economic decline of the Canongate must remain unproven. Due to the poor quality of the burial records we cannot confirm the evidence produced by the baptism registers. Over such a short period as twenty years it is difficult to be certain about such trends. To be confident about what was happening a full scale reconstruction of the parish is needed. It is possible to argue over the cause and extent of the crisis, but it must surely be admitted that a decline was taking place, even if its seriousness is uncertain.

As the last decade of the century wore on, high prices and shortage of grain in the rural areas began to affect even Edinburgh. With the reduction in crops many tenant farmers were unable to pay rents or obtain sufficient food. Forced off the land, they took to the road and added to the increasing number of vagrants. Many headed towards Edinburgh in the hope

of relief and of grain which could be imported through Leith. This greatly increased the pressures under which the parish and burgh governments had to operate. To face these responsibilities there was at best a stable core of taxpayers. If the parish was in decline and the number of 'substantial' residents was decreasing, the situation would have been much more serious. The 'pool' of potential officials would drop, putting a greater burden on those who remained and forcing them to hold office for longer periods. This seems to have been happening in the Canongate crafts. Fewer people (all of whom were able to afford less) had to meet a growing demand for assistance. The real danger will have arisen "when the number of migrants into [the] locality increases, there must be a critical point at which the increase will place such a strain upon the system as to prevent its operation."¹⁵² It is to the operation of the social misfits of the Canongate that we must now turn.

parish: Canongate (O.K.S.)

YEAR	Month of Conception												BAPT'S BY CIVIL YEAR (Totals)	CONCEP- TIONS BY HARVEST YEAR (Totals)		BAPTISMS	COMMENTS		
	Month of Baptism													JAN-FEB	MAR-DEC				
	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR						JAN	FEB	MAR-DEC
1680																			
1681																			
1682																			
1683																			
1684																			
1685																			
1686	13	11	20	19	17	21	14	5	19	16	13	29	197	63	134	168	6		
1687	20	21	20	10	13	19	11	11	9	15	14	14	177	71	108	155	7		
1688	19	14	15	12	10	22	11	17	13	18	10	9	170	60	110	112	6		
1689	11	17	13	4	8	13	9	9	4	10	11	11	120	45	75	102	9		
1690	6	11	8	12	3	7	8	9	7	11	9	8	99	37	62	95	2		
1691	11	7	8	14	17	5	6	8	7	7	9	7	106	40	66	80			
1692	14	8	5	2	12	6	6	5	5	4	6	5	78	29	49		2		
1693	4	13	9	5	7								38	31	7				
1694																			
1695																			
1696																			
1697																			
1698																			
1699																			
TOTAL	98	102	98	78	87	93	65	64	64	81	72	83	985						

parish: Canongate (P)

YEAR	Month of Conception												BAPT'S BY CIVIL YEAR (Totals)	CONCEP- TIONS BY HARVEST YEAR (Totals)				BAPTISMS	COMMENTS	
	Month of Baptism													JAN-FEB-MAR-DEC						
	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR		DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR			DEC
1680																				
1681																				
1682																				
1683																				
1684																				
1685																				
1686																				
1687																				
1688	5	3	3	4	5	4	4	4	1	4	3	4	13	13	15	21	28			
1689	7	3	3	4	3	2	2	2	6	6	5	3	46	17	29	51				
1690	2	3	4	10	1	4	5	7	5	5	6	7	59	19	40	49		1		
1691	2	4	3	2	5		3	4	3	4	2	4	36	11	25	55		1		
1692	6	5	8	5	2	2	6	3	5	5	6	3	56	24	32	94				
1693	7	5	6	5	2	4	3	14	10	11	8	9	84	23	61	140		1		
1694	12	6	5	10	15	14	13	9	14	11	6	15	130	33	97	107		2		
1695	8	10	15	10	6	11	10	10	10	15	1	10	116	43	73			2		
1696	11	2	8	13	11	9	10	12	5	17	8	7	113	34	79			1		
1697																				
1698																				
1699																				
TOTAL	60	41	55	63	50	50	56	66	63	75	45	67	691							

BAPTISMS

(B)

parish: Canongate (Total)

YEAR	Month of Conception												BAPTISMS	COMMENTS				
	Month of Baptism																	
	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR						
	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC						
1680	23	18	20	15	30	16	13	19	24	17	29	14	238	76	162	244	10	
1681	24	15	12	19	21	19	26	20	14	26	14	23	233	70	163	241	13	
1682	26	19	23	13	20	20	17	18	25	18	13	18	230	81	149	247	13	
1683	21	23	25	23	31	17	21	20	18	18	19	22	258	92	166	203	10	
1684	22	17	20	22	13	17	14	24	18	13	25	13	218	81	137	228	12	
1685	22	13	13	18	18	16	26	19	33	16	17	20	231	66	165	205	5	
1686	13	11	20	19	17	21	14	5	19	16	13	29	197	63	134	194	6	
1687	20	21	20	10	13	19	11	12	13	16	17	18	190	71	119	195	7	
1688	24	17	18	16	15	26	15	21	14	18	10	14	208	75	133	160	6	
1689	18	20	16	8	11	15	11	11	10	16	16	14	166	62	104	153	9	
1690	8	14	12	22	4	11	13	16	12	16	15	15	158	56	102	144	3	
1691	13	11	11	16	22	5	9	12	10	11	11	11	142	51	91	135	1	
1692	20	13	13	7	14	8	12	8	10	9	12	8	134	53	81	101	2	
1693	11	18	15	10	9	4	3	14	10	11	8	9	122	54	68	140	1	
1694	12	6	5	10	15	14	13	9	14	11	6	15	130	33	97	107	2	
1695	8	10	15	10	6	11	10	10	10	15	1	10	116	43	73	119	2	
1696	11	2	8	13	11	9	10	12	5	17	8	7	113	34	79	137	1	
1697	11	11	9	9	10	11	7	12	6	12	7	11	116	40	76	136	2	
1698	9	13	22	17	21	10	16	10	9	9	12	10	158	61	97			
1699	7	9	12	11	12	11	10	8	5	10	4	9	108	39	69		1	
TOTAL	323	281	309	288	313	280	271	280	279	295	257	290	3466					

parish: Canongate (O.K.S.)

YEAR	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	CIVIL YEAR (Totals)	JAN- JUL	AUG- DEC	HARVEST YEAR (Totals)	COMMENTS
1680																	
1681																	
1682																	
1683																	
1684																	
1685																	
1686	2	4	5	2	1	10	4	4	5	3	6	4	50	28	22	49	
1687	2	3	6	1	1	7	7	2	1			5	35	27	8	20	
1688	2	3		2	1	2	2	1	1		3	2	19	12	7	22	
1689		1	1	2	4	3	4	2	2	2	1	5	27	15	12	27	
1690	3	1		1		9	1			3		2	20	15	5	18	
1691		3	2	2	1	2	3			1	1	1	16	13	3	7	
1692	1					2	1				2	3	9	4	5	6	
1693			1										1	1			
1694																	
1695																	
1696																	
1697																	
1698																	
1699																	
TOTAL	10	15	15	10	8	35	22	9	9	9	13	22	177				

MARRIAGES

(D)

parish: Canongate (P)

YEAR	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	CIVIL YEAR (Totals)	JAN- JUL	AUG- DEC	HARVEST YEAR (Totals)	COMMENTS
1680																	
1681																	
1682																	
1683																	
1684																	
1685																	
1686																	
1687								1		1	3		5		5	14	
1688			1	2	1	2	3				2	2	13	9	4	19	
1689	2	2		2	1	4	4	1		1	3	3	23	15	8	18	
1690	2		2	3		1	2		3	1	4	1	19	10	9	16	
1691	1	1	1			6						2	11	7	2	11	
1692	2			1		3	2	1		1	2	2	14	9	6	15	
1693	1	1		1	1	3	2			1	3	2	15	9	6	18	
1694	1		2	3	3	3		3	1		6	1	23	12	11	20	
1695	2				2	2	2	1	1	1	8	3	23	9	14	37	
1696	1	6	3	2	1	7	3	2	2	2	2		31	23	8		
1697																	
1698																	
1699																	
TOTAL	12	10	10	14	9	31	18	9	7	8	33	16	177				

MARRIAGES

(E)

parish: Canongate (Total)

YEAR	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	CIVIL YEAR (Totals)	JAN- JUL	AUG- DEC	HARVEST YEAR (Totals)	COMMENTS
1680																	
1681																	
1682																	
1683																	
1684																	
1685																	
1686	2	4	5	2	1	10	4	4	5	3	6	4	50	28	22	49	
1687	2	3	6	1	1	7	7	3	1	1	3	5	40	27	13	34	
1688	2	3	1	4	2	4	5	1	1		5	4	32	21	11	43	
1689	2	3	1	4	5	7	8	3	2	3	4	8	50	30	20	46	
1690	5	1	2	4		10	4		3	4	4	3	40	26	14	36	
1691	1	4	3	2	1	8	3			1	1	4	28	22	6	20	
1692	2			1	1	6	4	2		1	7	7	31	14	17	35	
1693	1	2	2	1	1	7	4	1	2	2	5	4	32	18	14	33	
1694	3	1	3	4	5	3		4	2		7	1	33	19	14	29	
1695	2		2	1	3	5	2	4	2	2	9	3	35	15	20	48	
1696	2	7	3	3	1	5	7	2	2	2	3	2	39	28	11		
1697																	
1698																	
1699																	
TOTAL	24	28	28	27	21	72	48	24	20	19	54	45	410				

MARRIAGES

(F)

parish: Canongate (P)

YEAR	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	CIVIL YEAR (Totals)	JAN - JUL	AUG - DEC	HARVEST YEAR (Totals)	ST RANGERS	COMMENTS
1680																		
1681																		
1682																		
1683																		
1684																		
1685																		
1686																		
1687																		
1688																		
1689																		
1690																		
1691																		
1692																		
1693																		
1694																		
1695	27	23	3*	19								16*	88	72	16	142		
1696	22	15	23	18	25	9	12	9	18	18	22	26	217	126	93	186	9	
1697	34	35	24						14	10	7		124	93	24		7	
1698																		
1699																		
TOTAL	83	73	50	37	25	9	12	9	18	32	32	49	429					

(G)

BURIALS

CHAPTER THREE THE KIRK SESSION IN THE CANONGATE

INTRODUCTION

The main achievement of the Reformation was the concentration of church life at the parish level. This was epitomized by the establishment and power of the Kirk Session. The Canongate was fortunate in having had a session from the earliest days and a reformed minister from 1561.¹ Due to the shortage of suitable clergy many other parishes had to wait much longer. The session was the basis of the Church and was expected to organise parish life in the light of Christian moral principles. Its sphere of interest covered not merely religious matters but all aspects of community life - "a kirk session was not merely concerned with sin, it was concerned with all corporate aspects of life".²

The Canongate had a reputation for receiving 'presbyterian' ministers, the only obvious exception being the minister of first charge in 1685, Mr. Alexander Burnett. He was to be 'put to the Horn' for refusing to pray for the health of William and Mary.³ His successor was a man of much stronger 'presbyterian' beliefs. Mr. Thomas Wilkie was one of the Covenanters captured by Claverhouse in 1679 only to escape imprisonment on Bass Rock through the King's Third Indulgence. In the following years he was often in conflict with the authorities and was fined 10,000 merkes in 1683 for holding private conventicles. The following years he appeared on a list of rebels and fugitives. In all probability only

the Indulgence of 1687 saved him from further imprisonment.⁴

The session in the Canongate had been quickly organised after its foundation. The parish was originally divided into four quarters each supervised by two elders and two deacons.⁵ By 1685 there were eight quarters in the parish proper plus the Abbey, Potterow and the Castle, each unit having one elder and deacon. This type of division was standard practice in the urban parishes.

Life in the parish was influenced by the session in two main areas - the control (discipline) of religion, morals and good neighbourliness plus the regulation of poor relief. It is in these areas that the work of the session has been most misunderstood by later historians and commentators. By the nineteenth century an image of a puritan, harsh and unsympathetic session, unwilling to help the parish poor, was common - especially outside Scotland. This picture is largely inaccurate. The men who comprised the session were normal, if successful, parishioners not religious zealots. Their actions were often determined by compassion or self-interest.⁶ The aim of this chapter is to look at the motives of those who made up the session and to show that while they could be strict their aim was to preserve the community. The influence of religion merely reflected the accepted moral and social norms of the late seventeenth century. This was also reflected in poor relief. The session wanted to help those in trouble and was willing to ignore the law of the land in doing so. Overall the kirk session appears much more 'human' and compassionate than its detractors would have people believe.

(i) COMPOSITION AND MEMBERSHIP

The background of the session members is important in the understanding of the actions and attitudes of the committee. Dr. Walter Makey makes the point that by the middle of the seventeenth century, the members were no longer the gentry, lairds and parish elite as had been the case at the time of the Reformation.⁷ The membership had gradually gone 'down market' to the craftsmen and tradesmen who formed the economic backbone of the parish. By the 1640's 75% of the session came from the six Incorporations with the remainder being craftsmen outwith the Incorporations, the plutocracy, the professions and a few lairds.⁸ By the end of the century this movement had reached its conclusion with the Trades in total domination of the kirk session. Between 1686 and 1696 records survive for 74 members of the session of which it is possible to trace the occupation of 58.

Occupation	No	INCORPORATIONS	OTHERS	Occupation	No
CORDINER	7			SERVANT	1
BAXTER	5			FELTMAKER	2
TAILOR	9			GARDINER	1
Litster	2			NOTTAR	1
Weaver	2			MERCHANT	1
WEAVER	4			VINTNER	1
Brewer	3			COBLER	1
Coupar	2			SURGEON	1
Wright	6			'BAILIE'	1
Mason	2			JOINER	1
Coachmaker	1				
WRIGHTS	14				
HAMMERMEN	4				
BARBERS	4	Total 47 = 81%	Total 11 = 19%		

Table 1 Occupations of the Members of the Kirk Session 1686-1696

The Trades' control of the kirk had been assisted by the loyalty of many in the upper social groups to the episcopalian cause after 1688. Only three people in Table 1 were outside the sphere of the Trades - John Robertson, a Baron Bailie (probably with trade connections), Daniel Baine, a servant of the Duke of Hamilton and William Cairns, a nottary. The source of power can be defined even more exactly. Dr. Makey has shown that all the craftsmen members of the session were Masters in their respective trades. By the end of the century they held higher offices in the Incorporations.

Incorporation	Kirk Session	Post in Incorporation
Wrights	12	11
Weavers	4	3
Baxters	5	4
Trade Post First		10
Kirk Post First		6
Unknown		2

Table 2 Coincidence of Kirk Session Members
also holding office in the Incorporations

The experience gained in Incorporation business was a contributing factor in gaining a post on the session. This was a conscious act by the session, realising that it needed the support of the other pillars of stability and order if it was to remain effective. Indeed, to become a kirk elder

directly it was necessary to have been the deacon of a Trade.⁹

Incorporation	Trade Deacon	Elder
Wright	5	5
Weaver	4	0
Baxter	3	0
Hammerman	2	2

Table 3 Trade Deacons who were also Elders

This relationship is not obvious for the Weavers and Baxters, but this is due to the short time span of the survey. There was only room for a limited number of elders in ten years.

The power of the plutocracy (merchants, vintners, maltmen and barbers) which had existed to supply the court and its parasites with their needs was also in decline. In the 1650's the merchants became elders without first serving as deacons; by the 1690's this was no longer the case. As Table 4 illustrates, they were no longer as numerous or powerful. This reflects economic decline in the parish - the court market no longer existed to support this group.

Deacons	Deacons to Elders	Elders
5	2	6

Table 4 The Position of the 'Plutocracy'
on the Canongate Kirk Session 1685-1695

The 1694 Poll Tax has been used to study the wealth of the parish as a whole and it is possible to treat the session members in a similar way.

Tax Bracket	Number
NIL	9
100 - 500	13
500 - 5,000	12]
1,000 - 2,000	3]
5,000 - 10,000	3]
5,000 - 20,000	1]
"Poor"	1
"Very Rich"	1
No Information	31
Mode	500 - 5,000 merkes
Median	100 - 499 merkes

Table 5 Tax Status of the Canongate Kirk Session Members

1694 Poll Tax : merkes (1 merke = 13/4 Scots)

The tax payments of only slightly over 50% of the members are known - not surprising as only half of the parish was covered by the tax roll. Table 5 shows a strong bias towards the higher end of the tax league (excluding the gentlemen and aristocracy) - 78% of the members being 'merchants and wealthier tradesmen'. The 'ordinary people in the parish, paying the basic tax rate, are a minority on the session despite representing 42% of the tax paying population. Inside the session, wealth is concentrated at the upper level of merchants and tradesmen (worth over 500 merkes). For wealthy, successful and ambitious businessmen, parish government was one of the few levels at

which control and influence could be exercised. Others were the burgh council and the Incorporations. As these were small institutions, only a limited number of places were available in any given year.

The significance of wealth is confirmed by the mode and median tax payments of the two groups. While these remained at the base level of 12/= Scots for the parish as a whole, the mode for the session was 50/= Scots (though the median was only 13/4). As would be expected, those who had most at stake in the parish were the ones who ruled it. The wealth of the session members gave them a certain authority over the parishioners - especially the large number of servants and workmen. The elders were wealthier than the deacons, as Dr. Makey demonstrated for earlier in the century.¹⁰ Out of the top seventeen in Table 5, thirteen were elders.¹¹

The Kirk was well aware of the need for its members to possess some influence over those who were not amenable to the Word of God or friendly advice.

A worthy citizen was not just magically turned into a session member. One had to be elected - though this was not the democratic process that would be expected today. In Scotland the system was originally laid down in the First Book of Discipline.¹² In its true form, the existing session was to produce a leet consisting of two or three nominations for an elder and deacon in each quarter. The session would then select one from each and announce the new session at the kirk after the service.

"Names to be read from the pulpit and the parishioners to put forward complaints"¹³

The congregation was given several days (usually less than one week) to object to any of the names. In the Canongate the result was always that

"as no one compeared against the elected officers they are appointed to be put to the Church on Sunday next that they might give their oath of fidelity and be publicly admitted to their public offices".¹⁴

Although office was supposed to be for one year only, there was nothing to prevent those who wished to be re-elected from being considered. It is possible to question whether or not such a system reflected popular will. Despite this the system worked and there does not seem to have been any great abuse of power. In 1687 only three members were re-elected and a few experienced members would have been of great assistance to the new.¹⁵ The situation changed radically in 1690 with the fall of the episcopalian kirk to a more exclusively presbyterian system owing no allegiance to bishops. It had taken the new session some time to oust the old, but it gradually gained the support of the magistrates and won the conflict when Mr. Alexander Burnett was put under Act of Horning. The new session discarded all pretence of popular control. When Andrew Ingleis died in office in 1691 the minutes simply state that "John Hepburn was voted Elder".¹⁶ No effort was made to confirm the decision with the congregation. In September 1692 at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, the session was identical (with the above exception) to that of early 1690.

The kirk session had become self-perpetuating and with its involvement in affairs outside the religious sphere had become

"not a church in the modern sense, but a powerful organisation which always threatened to become and occasionally actually became a state opposite to a state".¹⁷

While not so powerful in the 1690's as it had been in the late 1640's, the Kirk still possessed a great deal of authority.

The administration of the parish, if carried out correctly, involved a great deal of effort. Not surprisingly the elders and deacons expected some reward or recognition - the office was unpaid. There existed a system of perks not unlike those enjoyed by management today. The main activity was entertainment at the parish's expense - especially food and drink. Feasts were held whenever a suitable 'excuse' presented itself. A selection of menus still survive detailing the expenditure at these events.¹⁸ Another perk was the provision of special pews for the members and their friends.

"It is elected that the magistrates are not seated conveniently in the church. Thus their seats should be brought nearer the pulpit and heightened."

"Seat next falling vacant to go to Richard Baillie"¹⁹

The status associated with membership of the session would have been valued by the elders and deacons. No one is recorded as having refused office, though Richard Baillie did hesitate. In the middle 1680's work had been started on the new kirk and in August 1693, four new wrights were given contracts. Three were members of the session. Two other wrights on the session

complained that they had not been included and as a result were also given contracts.²⁰ This is just one example of the favouritism of the session which also existed in other spheres of business - food, wine, wood and iron work. To a degree this was sound economics as the session would expect a better and cheaper job, but it was also plain bias.

The session was drawn from the backbone of the parish - craftsmen and traders who had a stake in the stability of the society in which they lived. While wealthier than the majority of inhabitants they were not the wealthiest residents. They represented those who were paying for the poor relief and would have desired to ensure that it was used efficiently. Intellectually they were no more enlightened than the rest of the parish. They did not reject the concept of witchcraft, accusations of which surfaced from time to time. That tradesmen held office was perhaps an indication that economics were becoming a powerful motive force. The elders and deacons held office because they wanted to (and their social superiors did not) and this was their best qualification.

(ii) THE KIRK SESSION AS A COURTA) Motives

The emphasis put on the parish through the work of the kirk session was one of the most noticeable features of the Reformation. Yet its 'discipline' of the parishioners is one of the least understood and most inaccurately reported aspects of church government.

The need and obligation for the church to exercise Godly Discipline had been acknowledged long before the Reformation.²¹ By burning heretics such as George Wishart, the Catholic church was disciplining its opponents. The Pre-Reformation church also had jurisdiction over moral offences, though this seems not to have been exercised at the parish level on any extensive scale.²² In many ways the Reformed Church continued in the footsteps of its predecessor, the main change being the emphasis put on the parish. Discipline (order more than punishment) was a major concern for the reformers, and its importance was indicated in the Scots Confession of 1560.

"First, the true preaching of the word of God; . .
 . . Last Ecclesiastical discipline uprightly
 ministered as Gods word prescribed whereby vice
 is repressed and virtue nourished"²³

John Knox, having lived in Geneva, was deeply influenced by Calvin and believed that the Kirk needed such authority to enforce its beliefs, without it there could be "no face to ane visible kirk". The most important statement of this belief is in the significantly titled Book of Discipline

written in 1561 as a programme for the Kirk to be presented before the Lords of Congregation. The relevant section is the 'seventh head' which concerns 'Ecclesiastical Discipline'.

The Lords of Congregation approved of the need for discipline though they did not endorse the Book of Discipline. This was representative of the general feeling at the time. The kirk could only enforce its authority if it was supported by a significant section of the population - especially the lairds. There was a general willingness to use the church courts (partly because they were local and efficient) and the majority of inhabitants were content to act as witnesses. Indeed neighbours would often keep an inquisitive eye on each other. In one fornication case "Janet Smyth, indweller in the chapel close [compeired] and deposed she had seen through the doors the said Alex goe to bed with the said Margaret".²⁴ The kirk felt it had a duty to organise life in the parish. The reformers believed that those who were to enter heaven were pre-destined - good works alone were not sufficient. However, the undertaking of such works, together with living a good and honest life were signs that a person was one of the chosen. In the interests of the congregation it was therefore the duty of the kirk to organise life in accordance with its religious and moral beliefs.

"There is no entering life unless the Church conceives us in her womb, brings us to birth, nourishes us at her bosom and preserves us by her guardianship and discipline"²⁵

Knox recognised that the 'civil sword' had its own sphere of interests. In theory he and his successors would have

liked to have seen the church having jurisdiction over all in the land, stating that "to discipline must all the estates of this Realm be subject as well as the Rulers, as they that are ruled, yea and the Preachers themselves".²⁶ David Black, the minister at St. Andrews, spoke more bluntly, claiming that "all kings are devils children". However, in practice the co-operation of the monarch and gentry were too important for the Kirk to be able to press the point. This did not mean that the Kirk was willing to remain within a well defined framework of responsibilities - it would assist the civil magistrates if they did not, or were unable to, carry out their duties.

" . . . neither can the Kirk of God be brought to purity neither yet be retained in the same without the order of Ecclesiastical Discipline, which stands in reproveing and correcting of the faults, which the civil sword either doth neglect or not punish . . . " ²⁷

By maintaining order in the parish, the kirk was also serving the needs of the Crown, though it would have been fain to admit it. This was recognised in 1597 and 1600 when Parliament gave the session responsibility for administering the Poor Law. Already the session was fulfilling some of the functions fulfilled by secular authorities in England. Though not equipped with similar powers, the session was representing the Crown at the lowest level much as the Justices of the Peace did in England.²⁸

B) How the Kirk Session Acted

The session's prime aim in discipline cases was to re-unite

the truly repentent sinner with the rest of the Christian family of the Congregation.²⁹ The difficulty lay in winning sinners to repentance. Indeed, the session would often be forced to go to great lengths to secure this. Katherine Oliphant refused to name the father of her child and blamed someone else until "after much pains had been taken to persuade her to glorify God by an ingenious confession of her sin." Over a year later Alex Marshall refused to admit fornication with Agnes Smith claiming that although she had been in his bed he had been too drunk to notice. Finally it is recorded that

"Alex Marshall, being seriously exhorted to
Glorify God by the moderator by a confession
did admit his guilt".³⁰

Repentance was supposed to be public, but depending on the seriousness of the crime and the importance of the guilty it could be carried out in private.³¹ Persuasion was not always sufficient encouragement and it was often necessary to resort to the threat of social pressure. The ultimate sanction was that of excommunication which came in two forms. The minor form ostracised the party from all the activities of the kirk. The major form was virtual civil death. No one outside of the victim's family was allowed to "have any kind of communication with him, be it eating and drinking, buying and selling, yea in salutation or talking with him".³² This was supported by secular laws from 1572 when it was enacted that an excommunicant could not hold any office. In 1609 this was widened to ban excommunicants from enjoying land, rent or revenue. Even at this level the kirk was reluctant to enforce

punishment. It took twelve weeks to pass a decree of excommunication, during which time strenuous efforts were made to show the sinner the error of his ways.

Alone, the authority of the Kirk was not always sufficient. The support of the civil sword was both expected and needed. Co-operation took place at several levels. The Monarchy and Parliament responded to the urgings of the Church and made certain ecclesiastical offences civil crimes. In 1563 adultery became a civil crime; 1567 fornication and incest; 1581 blasphemy; 1594 Parricide; 1661 swearing and drinking; 1689 Profaneness.³³ This meant that the session could call on the local magistrates for support. In 1688 the session decided that due to their scandalous behaviour "Thomas Miller and the family beneath him to be referred to the magistrate to be removed from the parish to conform to a previous act of session".³⁴ Those who refused to answer to the kirk were simply referred to the magistrates who normally fined them and returned them to the jurisdiction of the kirk. In difficult cases the magistrate would put the intransigent in prison for a short period. In the Canongate, the session was forced to call upon such assistance several times a year - in 1692, for example, seventeen times.

In 1689 the civil authorities began to support the presbyterian session, with disastrous results for the already established episcopalian session. In November and December that session complained four times that its work was being hindered by the lack of support from the bailies. When co-operating, the bailies would often sit in the session either in their own right or as

elders.

"Andrew Tweddie cautioneer for Joan Stevinson
compeired and he desired the magistrates concurrence,
he being present, that he might apprehend the said
Joan"³⁵

In the Canongate, the relationship between the two pillars of authority was very strong. It was policy for the magistrates to be on the session, being listed after the minister in the minutes of the session. The magistrates had a great deal of control over the church. The patronage of the kirk is difficult to define. In October 1689, Edinburgh Burgh Council appointed Thomas Wilkie as minister of the first charge.

Yet in August 1694 responsibility for calling a new minister of second charge was taken by the Incorporations, Magistrates and Heritors.³⁶ It would seem that the Canongate was a 'burgal kirk' but responsibility for it was divided. Edinburgh Council was the superior, though it may be that it allowed those in the Canongate to make the decision which it then approved. The parish had had two ministers since the 1590's³⁷ though it experienced some difficulty in paying their stipends. By the 1690's this was meant to come from the Annuity Tax but the magistrates' minutes in May 1695 record that this was insufficient.³⁸ As a result the council was forced to pay the second charge.

The session could also seek the assistance of the Presbytery if representation to the civil sword was not appropriate. This court assumed responsibility for the more serious offences such as adultery.³⁹ Usually the Presbytery returned the case to the session with advice on how it should be handled.⁴⁰ Until

the Revolution in 1688; the Presbytery had authority to proclaim the lesser form of excommunication. This was never exercised on residents of the Canongate during this period. Though little used, the Presbytery was always available to support the session.

The session managed to gain information about the events in the parish by several methods. It was the duty of the elders and deacons to seek out sinners in their quarters. These, they reported at the next meeting. Roderick Pedysone dilated

"Jasper Knowes candlemaker of Tranent . . . for lying a night in George Hays . . . with a woman he call his wife but was not"⁴¹

On the Sabbath certain of the session acted as 'visitors' and patrolled the parish, ensuring that those not at divine service were not misbehaving. The members of the congregation were encouraged to supervise each other and report the deeds of neighbours to the session. Indeed it seems to have been virtually impossible to commit a sin without someone knowing - as Josiah Johnstone discovered when "complained upon by his neighbours for keeping scandalous persons".⁴² Helen Ramsay's adultery was discovered by "Elizabeth McKinzie, . . . while looking down through a hole . . . saw a woman come out of bed one night".⁴³ This illustrates that life was lived in public, people could expect little privacy. Indeed attempts to obtain privacy may have been taken to mean that a person was up to no good. It also suggests that there was no anonymity at this level - everyone knew everyone else and strangers stood out. This was indeed the case in rural areas and it is interesting that it was also true in the busier urban areas.

The unrepentant had the option of fleeing the parish. It was partly for this reason that the session insisted on seeing the 'testificates' of newcomers before allowing them to settle. The lack of testificate would indicate that the person was not of good character. The session could ask the assistance of other sessions in an attempt to trace those who had evaded its grasp. When told that Joan Midgetie, a fornacatrix, was in Leith they asked the session there to find her.⁴⁴ In another case the session discovered that James Handyside had fled to Newcastle to avoid a charge of fornication. Even at that distance they could put pressure on him.⁴⁵

Meeting once a week, dealing with matters on which they had the support of the majority of the population and having the support of the civil sword, the kirk session formed a very effective court. However, it could only remain effective so long as it retained the support of the magistrates and the gentry. By the late seventeenth century these conditions could no longer be guaranteed.

C) Crimes and Punishment

The kirk was interested in punishing those offences which the state either would not punish - "Blasphemie, adulterie, murder, perjurie, and other crimes capitall, worthy of death" and those which did not fall under the civil sword's jurisdiction - "drunkenness, excesse, fornication, oppressing of the poore . . . wanton words and licentious living tending to slander".⁴⁶ A breakdown of the activities undertaken by the session is given in Table 6. The major group of crimes were those related to sex. This was

Business	Year	1686	1687	1688	1689	Mar 30 1690	Feb 14 1690	1691	1692	Jan-Aug 1693
Fornication		16	23	35	36	7	12	15	15	8
Adultery		1	1	2	1		1	1	2	2
Fornication Pre-marriage		1			2	1				
Bawdie House		1	1		2					
Scandalous Carriage		1			2					
Bigamy		1								
Suspected Fornication		1								
Laying Down a Child		1								
Scandalous Company		2	1	3	8			2	6	1
Scandalous Converse			3	1	3					
Re-Setting		6	5	6	5	7	1		1	
Slander			4	2	1	1				
Scoulding					1					
Breach of Sabbath					2		4	3	4	
Selling Ale during Divine Service		7	9	6	5	1		2	2	1
Private Baptism								2		3
Disorderlie Marriage					1	1			12	5
Suicide		1								
Turning Popish			1							
Abuse of Session		4	1	2						
Testificates								1	3	1
Public Repentence		12	37	43	48	6			9	1
Compeiring		20	51	39	52	12	4	14	43	46
Referred to Magistrates		2	17	12	22	7	3	4	17	6
Banishment								1		
Concern of Other Parishes		2	3							
Admin/Marriage/Poor Law		46	71	48	69	22	22	52	39	27

Table 6 The Business of the Canongate Kirk Session 1686 - 1693

typical of most kirk sessions. In the parish of St. Ninians in Stirling 37% of the 1,017 cases dealt with between 1554 and 1559 were sexual offences. In the Canongate the offences were comparatively mild; there being no record of heinous crimes such as incest or bestiality. Attempts to enforce good neighbourliness were also common - hence the efforts to cut down slander, scoulding and resetting (taking in lodgers of ill-repute without informing the authorities).

Despite the puritan reputation of the reformed church, attempts to enforce the observance of the Sabbath did not form a very large proportion of the session's business. It is of course possible that the congregation had very strong religious convictions as is in part suggested by the riots that took place against the Papists. It must be admitted though that anti-Catholic feeling did not guarantee godly lives. It is more likely that many merely escaped the vigilance of the visitors - it can not have been easy for two men to oversee the entire parish. The visitors may not have even wanted to present offenders before the session. At the local level, 'order' was seen in a different light from that in which the theorists saw it. Local officials were not interested in enforcing the letter of the law but in preserving good neighbourliness. They realised that the strict enforcement of the law could create more trouble and ill-feeling than it destroyed.⁴⁷ It was difficult for an elder or deacon to bring friends or neighbours before the session. Thus the visitors would have refused to dilate offenders, worried about the resulting ill-will and desire for revenge - it was much easier

just to warn the culprit.

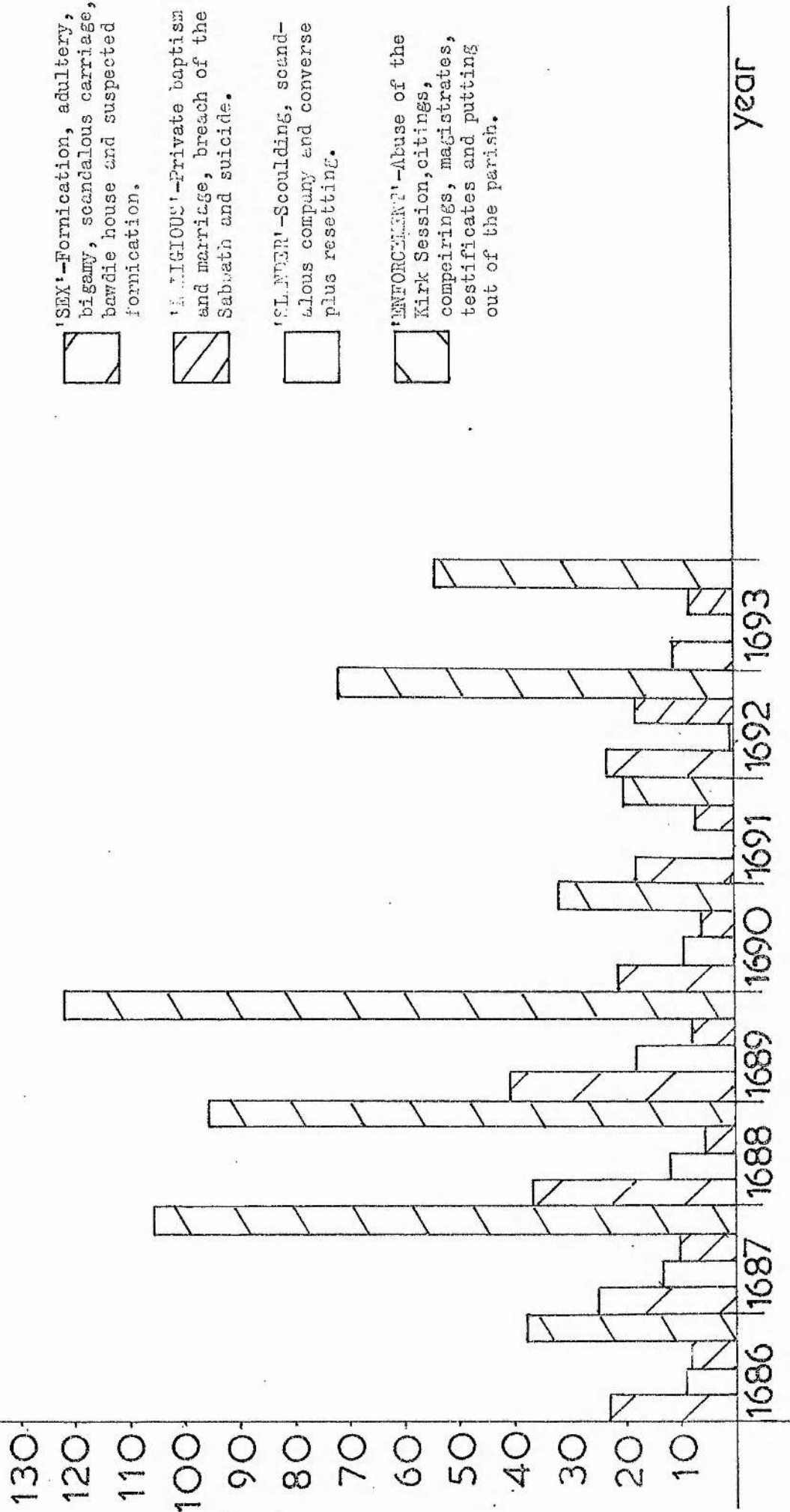
Figure 1 illustrates the main categories of business conducted by the session. Enforcement was the largest category in every year. As can be seen in Table 6 a portion of this concerned the guilty carrying out their penance, but the majority of incidents concerned the problems of persuading the accused to confess or to do penance. The main difficulty was in getting people to attend the meetings of the session ('compeiring'). In most cases this involved getting the accused to appear to answer charges, once they did they usually confessed. Some however did not and this section increased when the episcopalian kirk was unsure of the support of the magistrates (see public repentance totals). The usual answer of the session was to refer the trouble-makers to the bailies who normally persuaded them to undergo discipline. The abuse of the session was never a serious problem - those likely to do so probably did not attend its meetings. The enforcement category measures the amount of effort that was needed to gain repentance. If this total was high while the categories remain low, it suggests that the session was meeting resistance. More effort was needed to deal with comparatively few offences.

A major problem for discipline in the Canongate was created by the large number of troops stationed in the parish and in the Castle. The soldiers were involved especially in crimes of fornication and drinking. When accused of selling drink on the Sabbath "Josiah Johnstone said it was the English officers and their servants mounting guard and it was against his will".⁴⁸ In the end the session drew up "a list of soldiers who are

FIGURE 3.1

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS BY THE CANONGATE KIRK

SESSIONS 1686-1693.



delinquant and contacious" and presented it to the general.⁴⁹

Category	Number	Percentage
Craftsmen	20	22.2
Indwellers	3	3.3
Servants	13	14.4
'Innkeepers'	2	2.2
Soldiers	3	3.3
Widows	3	3.3
Married women	8	8.8
Poor	1	1.1
Strangers	2	2.2
Unknown	35	38.8
Male	42	46.6
Female	48	53.4
From outside Parish	12	13.3

Table 7 Occupations and Sex of those sent to the Magistrates
for not Co-operating with the Kirk Session

Over such a short period of time it is difficult to decide why the changes in the different types of offence are taking place. Indeed the changing frequency may just reflect random fluctuation. If, as is suspected, the parish population was declining, then one would expect fewer people to generate less business. To counter-act this, a worsening economic climate may have driven people to petty crime and to defy the expected social norms. Petty crime would not appear in the church courts but moral offences would have. From the coronation of William and Mary in December 1688 until 1690 there was a rise in both sex and 'good neighbour'

offences. This corresponds with the period in which the authority of the episcopalian church was challenged and that of the presbyterian not yet fully established. People realised that for a short period it was possible to ignore the authority of the kirk. That they did so is shown by the increase in enforcement in an attempt to get suspects to compeer. When the presbyterian kirk was fully established there was a fall to more normal levels. Enforcement levels were still high in 1692 and 1693 and this may have reflected that some in the parish still had episcopalian leanings. This would also explain the increase in private baptisms and weddings.

The concentration on moral issues is interesting. Several explanations exist for it. Offences such as fornication were easy to detect - not only was it hard to hide a pregnancy, but from the number of witnesses, it was hard to hide one's activities. Conversely some crimes such as 'excesse' or pride were not easy to detect. The main reason was that moral crimes were a safe subject - the majority of the population supported their suppression; though not necessarily for moral reasons. It was not simply the act of fornication that was a crime but the production of a bastard child who would almost inevitably end up on poor relief. Thus the session was keen to discover the father and ensure that the child did not become their responsibility. The church officials also wanted to concentrate on business which would not disrupt the order of the parish and create ill-feeling.⁵⁰ Thus in many cases they only became involved when someone complained to them. This was true in every slander case; only

after the offended party appeared before the session did it take action. By concentrating on vagrants, strangers and those who posed a threat to the community, the session minimised the possibility of creating more problems and maximised the support of the parishioners.

Though the main aim was to encourage the repentance of the sinner, punishments were often awarded either because the offence was a civil crime as well or as a deterrent to other wrong-doers. Janet Straughan suffered for this reason, she being "referred to the magistrates (she being incarcerated last day for laying down hir child) to punish as they think fit to terrify others from doing the same".⁵¹ The majority of the accused were willing to repent at once. Anna Wilkie on her first appearance promised "she shall carry herself discreetly, gravely and soberly with all scandall as becomes a good Christian", to insure that she did she was put under caution of £100 Scots.⁵² In these cases the moral authority of the session was sufficient. In some it was not and the accused needed to be persuaded.

" . . . Jean Edmonston, . . . being dilated by the visitors for persons drinking in her house on Sunday last. She said she was not at home. Is to go to prison till she pay £5 Scotts for instead of being sensible of her fault she up-braided the elder who dilated her in the face of the session."⁵³

Others merely refused to either attend the session or to undergo penance when appointed to do so. These cases were allowed three weeks to conform and then reported to the magistrate. Table 7 shows the status of those who had to be dealt with in such a way. The majority of unknowns were female and probably servants

which would greatly increase their percentage. It is surprising that settled respectable people such as the craftsmen formed such a high percentage of those who challenged the kirk. Being 'tied' to the parish as they were one would have expected them to conform. The only reason can be a strong anti-established kirk feeling. Those who were more mobile such as the servants, poor and indwellers could be expected to have attempted to escape through flight. The magistrates in other areas also co-operated. Over 13% of those who refused to comply were from outside the Canongate and had to be referred to their own magistrates. In an effort to insure the attendance of offenders, the session insisted that they had 'cautioners' to stand bail until their period of penance was complete.

If the offence was serious then penance and civil punishment were often combined. Helen Gillies "fornatrix with Hugh Mackyie . . . gave £4 Scotts in part payment of her penalty". She was also ordered to pay another £1.16.00 Scotts before being allowed to enter repentance. Judgement on strangers was always harsher as Joan Mulliken discovered when "dilated for scandalous converse with an English coachman. [She] was severely rebuked and ordered to leave the parish immediately".⁵⁴ Obviously she was suspected of being a prostitute and as such could expect no sympathy from the session. If necessary, the session could be compassionate as well as strict. So long as the accused admitted the fault, the session would forgive and also help the person. This was especially true in the case of fornication when the session would attempt to persuade the father to marry the mother.

Extenuating circumstances would also be taken into account.

"John Scot, tailor, dilated by Roderick Pedyson for adultery with Joan Midgele . . . had been cursed with the pox. The session took the same into consideration".⁵⁵

The elders and deacons were realists. They knew that it was easy to say the words of repentance and not mean them. It was for this reason that public humiliation was insisted upon. This consisted in confessing one's guilt before the congregation in the kirk standing apart from the virtuous. Two methods were used in the Canongate. The basic way was the 'stool of repentance' on which the guilty stood during the service in full view of the congregation. The other was dressing the sinner in sack cloth which both humiliated him and made him obvious to the parishioners.

"Compeired John Sinclair in sackcloth and made profession of his hearty grief and sorrow . . . "

"John Dalrimples wife to appear before the congregation in sackcloth"

"Compeired Jean Sword in sackcloth and is ordered to be in the pillar on Sunday next"

"Appant James Sutherland and his party to go to the pillar on Sunday as they are to marry"⁵⁶

While the offender was on display, the minister would announce to the congregation the nature of the crime and the guilty party would beg for forgiveness. The number of times this had to be carried out was on a rising scale depending on the seriousness of the offence. For fornication it was normally three weeks and for adultery it was six Sundays.⁵⁷ Public humiliation was a much more effective deterrent than the civil penalties imposed.

Some did not have to go through the public ordeal but were absolved in private. At first this was supposed to be for minor offences and those which had not reached the public ear.⁵⁸ Over time this was perverted into a means of dealing discreetly with important offenders and as a means of raising money. Thus Hugh Mackyie was "Privately absolved on account of his being married to a gentlewoman in Edinburgh".⁵⁹ This form of absolution was so popular that the session decided that "none shall hereafter be privately absolved unless they pay 100 merkes to the poor".⁶⁰ This ensured that only the wealthy could benefit from this lesser punishment. However, this 'dispensation' also covered the servants of the rich. As Table 8 shows, servants were the largest group to be privately absolved.

Name	Status
Hugh Mackyie	married to gentlewoman
Duncan Yeats	serv to Sir P. Moray
George Fraser	serv to My Lord St. Andrew
John Scoule	serv to John Hepburn (worth 1,000 m.p.a.)
James Smith	for good offices
Walter Scott of Altoun	laird
John Herdin	soldier
Sarah Hay	with John Scoule

Table 8 Status of Offenders who received Private Absolution

The difference in treatment depending on status must have affected willingness to compeir. Obviously it would have encouraged those likely to benefit from the arrangement. Indeed it may have been

the only way of persuading them to compeir at all. It is difficult to calculate the effect on those who did not benefit. If they resented the existance of double standards they may have been less willing to co-operate. On the other hand they may just have accepted it as normal. In any case there does not appear to have been discrimination against the lower social groups.

Apart from humiliation several other forms of punishment were utilised by the session. The most common was the fine. In many cases this had to be paid before the guilty party was allowed to enter repentence. The amount varied from "2 dollars" to £10 Scots for fornication while for a more serious crime such as adultery it could reach £200.⁶¹ Jail was rarely used as a punishment. Prisons were seen as a place to keep offenders until the time of their trial, not as places of long term internment. This was largely due to the expense involved. Prisoners were expected to keep themselves and if they were unable to do this the only alternatives to letting them starve or go free was for the kirk to pay for their upkeep. This the kirk was always most reluctant to do.

In the case of serious or repeated offences the session often thought it best if the offenders left the parish. David Gardiner was ordered to leave his house by Whitsunday 1689 and if he caused more trouble before then he would be banished immediately. If the offender refused to leave, the session would arrange for the landlord or magistrate to ensure he did. It would be difficult to find a new parish without a testificate of good behaviour from the old. Even with this, many parishes would be loath to accept

a stranger in case he and his family became burdens on the poor roll. Poor Relief was also used as a means of enforcing order. By threatening to withdraw aid, the session could regulate the behaviour of the weaker members of society. Fortunately it was not a very common practice, but the threat was always present. One unfortunate it was used against was Margaret Auld who was "put off the poor roll for keeping a woman with child gained in fornication in her house".⁶²

Throughout this period any accused could in effect discharge himself or herself by giving an oath on the Bible that he or she was not guilty of the offence.

" . . . Alex Walkers wife had asked the Presbytery to allow her husband to purge himself of scandal by oath either before the Presbytery or Kirk Session . . . "

"David Caskie remitted by the Presbytery to the Session is to purge himself by oath next day."⁶³

This demonstrates a totally different attitude to that prevalent in courts today. That so few took the oath suggests that the guilty would not risk perjuring themselves or that the courts would not allow those who they believed to be guilty this option.

Overall the session in the Canongate did not live up to the strict picture painted by some later historians.⁶⁴ While it did attempt to regulate the lives of the congregation, it did not do so with a fist of steel. The punishments awarded were not heavy - small fines and penance. Offenders were only referred to the magistrates or sent to jail in order to make them compeer. Even adultery, a crime for which both Knox and the State suggested

the death penalty, was treated with comparative laxity. Under such circumstances, just how effective was the kirk in controlling its parishioners?

D) The Effectiveness of the Kirk Session

It had been recognised at an early stage that if ecclesiastical discipline was to be effective, the support of the civil state was essential. This support is illustrated by the laws passed by Parliament against moral crimes. In the parish it was symbolised by the civil magistrates sitting in the session and supporting the kirk when requested. At the same time, the kirk stated that "to discipline must all estates within this realm be subject . . . "⁶⁵ This included those whose support was vital for the effectiveness of the kirk. In effect the church was asking the magistracy and gentry to support the kirk in controlling their own social groups. The Kirk had two concepts of order - the 'moral' of which it was the head and the 'social' of which the monarchy and aristocracy were at the head. When the two systems came into conflict, as they did when a member of the gentry committed a moral offence, the kirk was unsure how to proceed. As a result the gentry and nobility were generally beyond the reach of the kirk unless they agreed to conform of their own free will. One reason for the foundation of the Presbyterys was that it was hoped that they could control at least the minor gentry.

The sessions still tried to impose their will on their social superiors, usually to little effect. The problem caused by the gentry would have been particularly marked in the Canongate, being

the residence of so many influential persons. When the moderator was informed by Mrs. Keith that "she had borne a child to the Laird of Cotts" there was little that could be done as he had left the parish.⁶⁶ Though the laird did agree to call on the session when next in town. Nor were such problems confined to the lower ranks of gentry. James Rue was ordered to "discover the truth behind the scandal of the Viscount of Kilsyth, his being said to be found in bed with a sarjents wife from the castle".⁶⁷ The most that the session could hope for was a compromise. It would have to agree to private absolution and, as was the case with the Laird of Cotts, a penalty would be arranged through negotiation.⁶⁸ Allowing the offenders to appear 'in camera' was the only way of persuading them to compeir at all. If a member of the nobility did not wish to co-operate, little could be done. The support of the gentry was also needed for their influence over other members of the congregation who were in their employ. If a servant was reluctant to compeir it was hoped that his master would force him. Andrew Falconer spoke to the "Laird of Meldrum anent John Smyth his man who is guilty of fornication with Katherin Stuart".⁶⁹ The laird refused to do anything and John Smyth did not compeir. If the gentry would not support the kirk, the session lost much of its authority.

Social reality thus limited the session's authority to those of lower economic and social status. Even at these levels the kirk's authority did not go unchallenged and the support of the magistrates was vital. The difficulties involved in persuading people to compeir have already been noted. Members of all social

groups were able to defy the kirk - at least for a time. The majority of those disciplined were those most likely to be intimidated by the session - women, servants and the poor. This had been recognised by Bishop Burnett who believed the church should be "strict at least in governing the poor, whose necessities will oblige them to submit to any good rules we shall set them for the better conduct of their lives".⁷⁰ Women had the added disadvantage of being the most obvious offenders - it was not easy to conceal an eight month pregnancy. Craftsmen did appear before the session, but the majority created no difficulty.

While law and order was not directly the concern of the kirk this did not prevent it from becoming involved. The breakdown of public order was often connected with religious issues, such as the anti-papist riots in 1688 and 1689. The session was also responsible for discovering how many "delinquents" (poor strangers) were in the parish and for limiting their numbers. To this end the elders were to take up lists in each quarter and householders were not to 'resettle' them. There was a constant fear that large numbers of such people would lead to disorder. The large number of strangers on the poor roll plus the necessity to repeat anti-vagrant proclamations indicates that the session was not very successful. On 13th December 1688 there was "no session because of the town being unsettled because of the forgoing tumults". At such times, the apprentices also presented problems. Normally the session had little interest in their activities, unless they involved sabbath-breaking. Thus "Deacon Clerk and Thomas Barrowman's apprentices are to be severely rebuked about abuses

and disorders on the streets in time of divine service".⁷¹

Overall it was the poor and the weak who were sought out by the session. Partly this was because members of these groups did break the laws and thus deserved the attention of the church courts. There were also economic and social reasons for concentrating on these groups. The successful craftsmen, merchants and professional groups who made up the session depended on peace, stability and economic well-being for their prosperity. These same groups contributed most to the poor rate. They wanted to pay as little as possible and were therefore keen to limit the number of poor in the parish and to avoid responsibility for payment when possible. When Margaret Chapman was cautioner for her sister she had to promise that "the parish shall not be burdened by her sisters child and enact that both shall leave the parish immediately".⁷² This was really a short-sighted policy but the elders did not really worry so long as the Canongate was not responsible. More importantly it was these groups that the session could successfully intimidate and they may have suffered disproportionately for this reason.

The degree of effectiveness depended on several factors. The level of religious feeling felt by the congregation was vital. Even the most important laird may have been tempted to co-operate with the session if his religious feelings were sincere. The change from episcopalian to presbyterian government in the Canongate was preceded by a decline in respect for the established session. It was realised that at least for a short period the kirk's authority could be flaunted. However even then ecclesiastical

justice could not be totally ignored. Those who refused to recognise the episcopalian session often submitted to its rival as was the case with David Denoon who was cited for fornication with his servant woman.⁷³

The kirk depended on the support of the magistrates and when this was withdrawn problems arose. It became difficult to force people to compeer if there was no threat of punishment. In 1689 the episcopalian session "finding that . . . [six persons] . . . being refered to magistrates for their contumacy and yet not compearing this day, they appoint several of their members to speak with the burgh bailie anent his denying his concurrence in that affair".⁷⁴ Apart from that year the kirk had the support of the bailies and the trades and was able to exert its authority. Nor was the influence of the session limited to the parish boundaries. In 1688 it was able to trace Margaret McIntosh to Newcastle thanks to the co-operation of other parishes. On the 17th March 1691 the session ordered that "Mr. Robt Hendry to appear by request of Kirk of West Calder". The willingness to co-operate plus the existence of testificates meant that it could be difficult for the guilty to escape justice. It must be admitted that in practice, testificates were not very effective as a means of discovering those of ill-repute. Between 1686 and 1693 the session in the Canongate only insisted on seeing them twenty-two times. Obviously many without them must have slipped through the net.

Though offenders could be brought before the session and persuaded to repent, how much did this help to achieve a

reformation of manners? Despite repentance moral offences still occurred. Drunkenness, slander and fornication carried on unabated. Despite the very strong strictures about Sunday observance it was necessary to employ visitors to patrol the parish. The sabbath-breakers were prosecuted for behaving badly not for non-attendance of the kirk. This suggests that the session did not expect everyone to attend - surely a sign of weakness. In the long term the kirk was more successful as the change in attitude of the Scots towards the Sabbath was one of the major characteristics of the Reformation.

It has been suggested by some detractors of the church courts that a fear of public humiliation for minor offences forced some to commit more serious crimes in an effort to escape censure.⁷⁵ If this was indeed the case it would be a serious indictment of the kirk session. This does not appear to have happened in the Canongate. On occasions repentants would halt during their rehabilitation while others would flee the parish. The poor accounts record a number of foundlings indicating that single mothers may have tried to get rid of 'incriminating evidence' but there is no suggestion that they resorted to infanticide. The most serious reaction took place in 1687 when

"compeired Janet . . . incarcerat for scandalous converse . . . being liberat on caution offered to drown herself in the pond at the Watergait upon which it was thought fit to dely her censure for some time lest she be tempted to try the same again. In the interim she fled this place"⁷⁶

This may have been a ploy to escape justice or she may have been genuinely confused in her mind - mental illness is something we

know little about in the seventeenth century. Despite this there is no evidence to support H.G. Graham who believed that

"the comparatively innocent suffered most and the shameless suffered little. Frequent cases occurred where, rather than face the trial, delinquents fled the country, some committed suicide and many girls in their terror destroyed their off-spring in the hope of concealing their fault."⁷⁷

Assuming that some grains of truth lie behind the belief that the kirk inspired fear, public humiliation was a much more effective deterrent than the various civil penalties. The kirk's main failure was in failing to control the gentry. Its lack of authority was compounded by many of the gentry being only temporary residents and being members of other congregations. This meant that the session had to compromise if it was to gain their co-operation. That private absolution could be gained for 1,000 merkes illustrates the gap between what the kirk wanted to achieve and what it could do in practice. Despite this weakness and the ability of other groups to evade justice, the exercise of discipline was still one of the major characteristics of post-Reformation Scotland. After 1660 the disciplinary work of the English church courts was gradually fading away though in a number of areas they were to continue operating for some time. Moral discipline was to last longer and have far greater influence in the northern kingdom. Though the Scottish church courts had their own problems there can be no doubt that they did contribute to the protection of morals by the public reaffirmation of standards and the disciplining of at least a proportion of offenders.

"An age like our own when delinquency of all

kinds increasingly abounds, cannot afford to scoff
at the kirk sessions".⁷⁸

(iii) POOR RELIEFA) History

Since the nineteenth century, Scottish poor relief has been burdened with a bad reputation.⁷⁹ It was considered unjust, penny-pinching and inadequate. The writings of later historians have helped to compound this view. To one, it was obvious that "clearly no efficient system of poor relief was then [the 1690's] in force in Scotland".⁸⁰ It has been further argued that the kirk had no desire to help the poor, implicitly comparing it unfavourably with its English counterpart.

For the Scottish system to be compared so unfavourably with the English is strange considering the similarity of many of the laws passed in the two countries.⁸¹ The Scottish law enacted in 1574, two years after that in England, contained many similar regulations - a distinction between able-bodied and impotent poor; parish overseer; parish lists; responsibility to lie with the 'home' parish; allowance for stents and punishments. Rosalind Mitchison suggests that the major difference was the lack of regulations concerning the provision of work for the able-bodied and idle poor. This reflected the fact that the Scottish economy could not provide employment save at the expense of established industries.⁸² Another distinction was that the Scottish laws did not allow for a compulsory poor rate - the raising of money was at the discretion of the parish. In general Scottish poor law legislation was to follow the trends set in England throughout the seventeenth century.

At first, as in England, the administration was in the hands of the secular authorities, but the Act of 1592 (Jas VI Cap 149 No. 69) recognised their deficiencies and put responsibility into the hands of the kirk session. Various attempts were made at giving English style Justices of the Peace responsibility for vagrants and the poor in 1617 and 1661. However, these officers never had a satisfactory role to play in Scotland and it is likely that the church merely ignored the legislation and carried on as normal. This illustrates the gap that existed between what the legislators thought should happen and what took place in practice. This is the danger of using only legislative history as a guide to the work of the period.

" . . . to understand the working of the late seventeenth century law, it is not at parliamentary enactments that we should look but at the effective instrument of local government, the kirk session".⁸³

As in England, the poor had been divided into those who were 'deserving and those considered able-bodied vagrants. It is unlikely that these distinctions were strictly enforced. The local poor would always have taken priority over strangers though they also were assisted if possible. Nicholls claims that the Scots were interested only in persecuting vagrants while the English desired to help the deserving.⁸⁴ This view, however, reflects an inability to look beyond the laws to what was actually achieved at a local level.

It has been claimed that the lack of compulsory collections was a weakness in Scotland and symbolic of their lack of concern. Yet when the sessions decided to organise voluntary collections the response, in the Canongate at least, appears to have been

adequate. There were also several other sources of revenue⁸⁵ - fines were channelled towards the poor, as were marriage fees. Relief extended far beyond the boundaries of the parish. Collections were often made for those who had suffered disaster and for ransoms to regain prisoners of war or Christian slaves held by the Barbary pirates.

Weaknesses did exist in the system. Kirk sessions could defy the authority and instructions of the Privy Council. Some of the legislation was merely building castles in the sky. The correction houses in which the poor were to work were in the vast majority of cases never built. With so much left to the individual parishes to organise it is possible that the system would collapse during periods of severe strain - so much depended on the sense of responsibility in the parish. However, this said, to see the Scottish system of relief as some cheap and inefficient copy of the English is extremely misleading. The relief of the poor could be, by the standards of the day, widespread and generous.

B) Motives of the Kirk Session

An intriguing fact about poor relief in Scotland was that the kirk took the burden upon itself voluntarily. This is different to the situation in England where the parish was instructed by the government through the Justices of the Peace to be responsible for the care of the poor.⁸⁶ As Rosalind Mitchison points out "a session did not need to be empowered by Parliament to take part in a matter fundamental to its concept

of community and morality . . .".⁸⁷ To some historians, the Reformation, both in the British Isles and Europe, brought about a change in attitude towards paupers and vagabonds. Once seen in a favourable light by the Church those who were unemployed or poor were now seen as morally undeserving.⁸⁸ The change in religious beliefs, however, cannot be held solely responsible for any shift in attitudes to the poor. By the late sixteenth century there were many more paupers and vagabonds than in previous centuries. They were now regarded as a threat. Nor was the change in attitudes necessarily that great. There had always existed an ambivalence of attitudes. Compassion and fear were present before and after the Reformation. It would be difficult to say which motive dominated the actions of individuals or even sessions. The reasons for unemployment were misunderstood and the distinction between those who did not want to work and those who did was weak. Legislation which discouraged the idle was approved of, one contemporary describing the English Act of 1597 as "an excellent Statute and being in substance the very Law of God, is never to be repealed".⁸⁹ The sheer size of the army of poor and unemployed was so great that the State could not consider helping everyone. In such circumstances those who could gain the 'sympathy vote' were at an advantage. This was summed up by John Knox when he made it clear that "We are not Patrons for stubborne and idle beggars, who running from place to place make a craft of their begging whom the Civill Magistrate ought to punish".⁹⁰

To the Scottish Reformers the State alone was not totally responsible for supporting the weak and helping the afflicted. Church discipline was also needed and from the earliest days this had been seen as one of the primary duties of the deacons.⁹¹ The various laws passed in attempts to suppress 'sorners', with their provisions for whipping, stocks and banishment seem harsh today.⁹² However the full force of the law was not always applied and in any case the clergy were interested in more than just the material well-being of the poor. If idleness was evil then surely it was worth a little suffering if it saved the subject from torment in the after-life.

The kirk's role had been recognised by John Knox who had included it in the Book of Discipline, writing that "Every severall kirk must provide for the poore within itselfe. For fearful and horrible it is, that the poore . . . are universally so contemned and despised".⁹³ The programme set out by Knox was remarkably similar to that which would be introduced in England twelve years later. Begging was to be controlled, the "stout and strong" beggars were to be forced to work, a person's parish of birth was to be responsible for his relief and the kirk was to keep a list of the poor.

The ability to manipulate those on the poor roll did not escape the notice of the kirk. Bishop Burnett knew that control of the poor also meant control of their morals.⁹⁴ The Canongate limited this to the threat of withdrawal as a hostage to good behaviour - other sessions went further. The kirk in Aberdeen laid out a series of conditions which the poor had to satisfy in

order to qualify for relief.⁹⁵ The poor were "instructit ouklie in the groundis of Christiane faith and religioun"; they had to attend church every day (three missing days in a row lost a week's allowance); they could not beg; could not entertain; if they swore they lost a week's allowance. Such laws may appear Draconian but they were not necessarily applied in full. Certainly in the Canongate the poor do not seem to have been disqualified on such grounds.

The members of the session had other motives apart from their religious convictions.⁹⁶ The elders and deacons came from sections of the community which had an interest in the stability of parish life - their material success depended on it. The Poor Law was a useful economic regulator in that it could be used to exclude immigrants thus lessening the risks of serious unemployment. Poor relief could also be used as a "subsidised wage" in an effort to keep the poor content - another term would be bribery. The sacrifice of a little wealth was worth the stability it helped to create. The kirk took up the care of the poor because it felt a duty to do so; if this also helped the congregations material life so much the better. The mere fact that the session was interested in what it was doing surely made it more caring, or at least more efficient - the opposite of nineteenth century opinion.

C) Who was assisted

In theory a parish was to support only its own impotent poor. The 'able-bodied' were to be sent to work and strangers

were to be passed back to their parish of birth. Thus runs the legislation, practice was very different. The division between 'able' and 'impotent' seems to have been ignored. As Rosalind Mitchison suggests the distinction was primarily between residents of the parish and those who were not.⁹⁷ Strangers could only expect aid once the locals had been cared for.

The basic group consisted of established receivers of aid. In the pre-Revolutionary period they received money on a regular basis - once a week or once a month. There was a set day on which relief was distributed. After the Revolution monthly relief was abandoned and relief could be received on any day of the week. Many of the names appear year after year - Margaret Auld in 1686, 1687, 1688 and until 1693 when she was dropped from the roll for resetting a fornacatrix. Unfortunately the accounts give few details about the group. The only clue is that many are described as 'widow' or 'relict', suggesting that the majority were old widows - the impotent of the parish. This is confirmed by the fact that many died while on the roll - on 6th October 1691, the weekly poor was reduced from £7.03.00 to £6.13.00 because Janet Paterson died. In January 1692 it was again reduced when Margaret Archibald died. As a rule the death of a recipient meant that someone else was added to the permanent roll. The amounts given to this group were not large. Margaret Archibald was given 7/= per week (about half a labourer's daily wage) as was Agnes Johnstone. Normally around twenty people received this type of aid at any one time. A few fortunates received more; Thomas Creighton was 'booked' at 16/= per week on 16th December 1686.

This was very high compared with the majority - in May the following year Margaret Carrudles was booked at 6/= per week. Those on this regular roll had certain responsibilities and were supervised by the session. On 21st November 1689 the poor were ordered to appear and be checked, though what was involved was not recorded (it may have been merely a census). As the modal payment was 6/= per week, compared with a labourer's daily wage of 15/4, it is unlikely that it was intended to cover all expenses. The recipient must have been expected to have had some other source of income.

The regular payments formed only a small part of the total outlay of the parish. 'Ad hoc' payments made weekly could be more important. These were usually at least double the regular totals - some were very large amounts. In January 1686 they totalled £111.14.00; in December 1687, £128.06.00. While the payments were 'ad hoc', some took on the regularity of the established poor roll. Payments would be made many times a year to the same person. David Erskine was given regular donations until he was finally added to the regular roll; Marie Bourne was paid several times from 31st March 1691 until she too was added to the weekly poor in August. The people in this group did not necessarily receive aid every week though some did for short periods because, for example, of illness. In 1689, the session paid Thomas Alexander while his wife was sick; George Beattie was also paid for the same reason. The list of this group was constantly changing as people qualified for aid and then left again. The aim of the session was to bolster the recipients in

times of trouble and hopefully prevent them from becoming permanent burdens on the parish.

An important section in this group was that of the very young. It was the parish that had to lay out the expense of caring for the foundlings which were frequently deposited in the streets (twenty-six in 1686 to 1687). Those on the regular poor roll and in need of extra finance were often employed as nurses to look after the children - Widow Milln was paid to look after a foundling in January 1689. As the children grew they remained a financial responsibility. Clothes had to be purchased and their scholastic studies had to be financed.⁹⁸ After school it was vital to find a trade for the youth so that they would not remain a burden. This meant another payment to gain an apprenticeship - hopefully outside the parish.

The testament of Thomas Kilgour⁹⁹ records that his wife had to borrow "several sums of money and bought draughts and medecines for him" to the value of £60 Scots. She also had to meet funeral expenses of £100. The cost of illness and death was great - too great for many households. Among the poor it was the kirk that had to pay for doctors, nurses and medicines. When these failed it was also the kirk that had to meet the cost of coffins and mortcloths. After an accident Walter Porterfield was to "attend Thomas Johnston to heal his broken leg and is to be paid by the Kirk Session".¹⁰⁰ It says much about the state of medicine that funerals were more common outlays than cures. Impotent strangers could also be reasonably certain of assistance. Among the strangers listed in the accounts were "a blind man",

"two sick strangers", "sick family", "poor sick woman with two children", "old lame woman".

Despite the rulings of the various Acts of Parliament, the parish was not able to evade responsibility for the care of strangers. Attempts were made at stemming the tide through the publication of proclamations but they achieved little. This was partly due to the parish's proximity to the port of Leith and the nation's capital. The reputation of the parish as the residence of the rich would have been an added lure to the poor. The strangers fell into various categories. The most noticeable were the foreigners. References were made to Hungarians, French, English, Dutch, Danish and, most commonly, the Irish. Usually the recipients were passing through the parish - "five Dens women going to Ireland".¹⁰¹ Many were the victims of religious intolerance - Protestants fleeing from France and Ireland - others were ship-wrecked, some were merely "distrest". As victims of fortune or persecution it is hardly surprising that the session was willing to lend support.

The majority of strangers naturally came from inside Scotland. It has been argued that the number of paupers wandering around the country through the inability to gain employment or residence qualifications was much larger than previously thought.¹⁰² Certainly there was a constant stream passing through the Canongate. Contrary to the law they were also being aided, suggesting that the parish had some spare resources. Little or no information is given about the majority of the strangers, simply being described as "stranger" or "distrest

stranger". They were only welcome so long as they moved on again soon afterwards. At best, parishes could only care for the minority of strangers and could not tolerate a larger permanent burden. While a few stayed a number of weeks, the session took action against those who overstayed their welcome and instructions were issued "to officers for putting away the beggars".¹⁰³ Regular 'sweeps' of the parish were made to check for unwanted guests. Elders and deacons were ordered "to go through their quarters and call for testificates from all servants and other strangers who are resett in this parish and to secure all idle vagabond persons". At the same time the session informed the congregation of its duty and appointed "the Act about the setting of houses to vagabond persons and the resetting of strangers without testificates to be read from the pulpit".¹⁰⁴ The session was always keen to ensure that other parishes shoulder the burden of relief. This was particularly true for illegitimate children. If it could be shown that conception took place in another parish, the guilty party was referred back to it - the Canongate would accept no more than temporary responsibility.

Several categories of the poor stood out above the rest in status. There were many members of the better social groups who had fallen on hard times and moved from parish to parish.¹⁰⁵ These were known as 'gentle beggars' and were thought worthy of higher than average relief due to their past status. Little more information is given for this group than for other recipients - "a distrest gentleman", "three gentlewomen", "Mrs. Greg poor old gentlewoman". The term 'gentle' could cover a wide variety of

status but generally means all those raised to do no manual paid work.

Kirk ministers also feature prominently as receivers of aid. In a time of religious turmoil it is not surprising that many were without a living. It was not only the ministers who received support but also their families and relicts if they died. Again they received a level of aid higher than that of the ordinary poor. Religious convictions do not seem to have been a bar to receiving aid. In January 1686 a Grecian minister was supported and it is unlikely that he was a Protestant. Reasons for giving aid were rarely recorded, but the Poll Tax listed several ministers who did not have stipends. The Presbytery would also order the parish to contribute to a pauper's support if it believed he was deserving. This was similar to the way in which an English Justice of the Peace could override the desires of the Vestry.

The authorities in the seventeenth century did not believe it to be the duty of the State to support those resident in gaols. Many in prison were therefore in serious difficulty, being unable to support themselves. It fell upon the kirk to support these persons until their trial. In the kirk accounts of 1689 "Treasurer Deacon Smyth and Deacon Mitchell [were ordered] to survey David Caskes accounts of ailment to session prisoners". The amounts given to prisoners were small - in 1690 Isobell Waker was given 1/= per week.¹⁰⁶ When possible the session tried to have such prisoners set free under caution to appear at their trial or before the kirk. Thus Katherin Stewart was set free

"as she could not maintain herself and was chargable to the parish . . . ".¹⁰⁷ The kirk was also willing to help prisoners in foreign lands. In October 1689 the Canongate was paying a "poor woman whose good man taken by the French". Special collections were taken to ransom those held by the Turks - in 1682, £30; 1693, £60 - and those enslaved by the Barbary pirates - £72 in 1695.¹⁰⁸

Members of the parish sometimes found themselves faced with expensive outlays which they could not meet. The session was willing to help in order to prevent the receiver becoming a permanent burden. Often this aid would take the form of a loan which would be paid back in better times. After some damage, the session agreed to "examine Walter Listouns oven and the bounds about it to see what is necessary to be done for the helping the over . . . ".¹⁰⁹ The destruction caused by fire was a common reason for expensive repairs. This threat was always present in the seventeenth century and struck in 1689 when the parish aided those most harmed with "money collected from persons who suffered least in the late fire". Three years later a "poor man who had his house burnt" was also assisted.

When necessary, money would be sent to other parishes. It was common practice to have special collections to help those who had suffered or needed financial support. Again fire was often the reason - £465.16.00 was collected in 1684 for Kelso. When Dalboith suffered from fire in 1694, another collection was held. The parish also collected £383.18.00 to help build a Protestant church in **Königsberg**, Prussia.

Most relief involved the handing over of money either at regular intervals or by the deacons going through the parish distributing small amounts to the needy. Several forms of payment in kind were also resorted to, though the variety was not so great as in other parishes. The parish owned several alms houses which it distributed to old women such as Widow Donaldson who was "to have the house in Chapell Close that is now possest by Widow Graham".¹¹⁰ These houses may not have been available to the presbyterian session as one of the last acts of the episcopalian session was to attempt to sell the buildings. In some cases the kirk would pay the rent of those in need.¹¹¹ This ensured that the poor actually had somewhere to live and that the money was spent on something useful not, for example, on drink. It also implies that the recipient had enough money for food, though not enough to meet the larger debts.

Relief varied over time. There were several high points in the year. These corresponded with the onset of winter and the period prior to the harvest. This is illustrated in Figure 2. January and December tended to be high months as did those of early summer. A fall normally occurred around April or May with the arrival of mild weather and a drop in the demand for money to buy fuel. The years 1689 to 1691 do not completely fit this pattern but we know from the fiars prices that this was a period with rising grain prices and this would have stimulated demand for relief. The presbyterian session was spending significantly less on relief than its predecessor had done. Apart from attempts to keep beggars away there is

no evidence to the reasons for the fall.¹¹² There may have been a change in attitude - a desire to be firmer and more discriminating. Against this, the accounts show that strangers were still being assisted. If there had been a change in attitude these people would have felt the brunt of it. A more plausible explanation is that the session had less money and instead of reducing the numbers helped, it reduced the amounts awarded. The drop in the supply of funds could have been caused by a drop in the number of parishioners who contributed to relief. It has already been postulated that the Canongate was entering a period of economic decline coinciding with a drop in population. In such circumstances the session would have had little choice but to survive on less money. At the same time funds would have been drawn away from the poor by the cost of building the new kirk. The Church tended to 'pool' its resources together and would have seen little wrong with using some of the poor's money for financing the new building.

D) Poor Relief Resources

To English observers of the Scottish poor law its greatest weakness was the absence of a compulsory rate to be collected in the parish.¹¹³ The session was forced to rely on the generosity of the congregation. To an extent this was a false picture of the situation. In times of crisis the kirk sessions had powers to initiate compulsory collections.¹¹⁴ In fact the use of a voluntary cess was adequate under most circumstances. This was undertaken by the deacons who were

"to go through their quarters and collect the monthly chanty for the poor, to be continued thereafter either monthly or quarterly".¹¹⁵ While the collection was described the next year as a "voluntary contribution" this should not be taken too literally. The kirk was still a powerful institution and the deacons had a great deal of influence in their own quarters. A reluctance to contribute would have eventually led to conflict with the session. Collections were supported by the teachings of the church and the congregation would have been encouraged to display 'good works'. The parishioners also knew that if they did not contribute they would be stented - perhaps for a greater amount.¹¹⁶

In case some did evade the deacons as they toured the parish, collections were held at the sabbath service. Donations were given on leaving the kirk when "only elders and deacons to collect money at the Kirk Door".¹¹⁷ There was some opposition to this, at least among the collectors - "It being reported that Alex Anderson, James Wood and other indwellers in that part of potteraw within this parish; cited frequently to collect the public offering at the Church Door (as is a laudable custom everywhere) refuse to do so".¹¹⁸ Unfortunately the reason is not recorded. This type of collection could be very effective as it was difficult for an individual not to contribute if everyone else did. The problem of false or foreign coins being donated did not arise in the Canongate to the same degree as it did elsewhere.

Collections were also made on special occasions. At Communion in September 1692 £25.08.02 was collected and also immediately distributed amongst the poor.¹¹⁹ Fasts were also

used as fund raising events. In January 1691 the session decided that "William Orrock and James Grant should be collectors on Thursday, it being a fast day".¹²⁰ The presbyterian session was more active than its predecessor at collecting money. It had collections twice a week and averaged a sum in the teens of pounds while the earlier session had only the sabbath collection which averaged between £7 and £9 Scots.¹²¹ This may have been a reaction to an increase in the number of vagrants caused by the difficulties on the west coast and the wars in Europe. The declining population would have forced the session to work harder at raising sufficient funds for the poor.

The kirk could also raise money by several other methods.¹²² The most regular were the fees connected with the major events in life - birth, marriage and death. At the baptism of a child and at the marriage of a couple, a small fee was charged which went to the poor box. Engaged couples were also charged when they gave up their names to be married. When "James Smyth and Anna Dunbar . . . gave up their names to be married [They] gave 42/= to the poor".¹²³ The sums involved varied from couple to couple - "2 leggit dollars", "2 rix dollars", "an emerald ring", "2 gold woops", "rix and leggit dollar plus £2 to the poor". The gift of rings as a means of payment was quite common, though it entailed some work for the session which had to convert them into cash.¹²⁴ The session books stopped recording marriages after 1690 making it difficult to confirm that this charge was continued. The later sessions did however fine those who married outside the kirk and used that money for the poor box.¹²⁵

The mortcloth proved to be another regular fund raiser. The cloth was hired out at funerals where the family did not have access to another. The cost varied according to the status of the deceased, but was usually around £1. The rich were charged more - Lord Murray's child, £5.12.00; Alex Menzies £4; Baillie Maxwell £6.13.04. If the deceased was poor, the charge was paid out of the kirk funds - only a 'book-keeping' exercise. The mortcloth was very profitable, raising £268.16.00 between November 1689 and November 1690 and £328.17.04 from 1684 to 1685.¹²⁶ This was due to the number of times it was actually used.

Year	Number
1684 and 1685	172
1686 - 7	103
1687 - 8	69
1689 - 90	91

Table 9 The Frequency of use of the Kirk
Mortcloth in the Canongate

In its duties as a court, the kirk session was often obliged to award fines against the guilty parties. These formed a very useful source of revenue - even if many were paid by the poor. The majority of fines were connected with fornication. Eupham Scot was fined two dollars while "John Nirdie [was] to bring two dollars penalty, Mary Drysdale his partner also to bring two dollars".¹²⁷ The fines were normally quite small, but as

with mortcloths the cost of crime rose in step with the guilty party's income - the Laird of Cotts £60, Laird of Altoun £29, Mr. Smyth £24.¹²⁸ Though not so frequent as mortcloth payments, fines did form a steady income.

Year	Number
1685	19
1686 - 7	19
1687 - 8	16 (£242.14.8)

Table 10 Fines for Fornication Paid
to the Canongate Poor Box

Some guilty parties preferred to do their penance and absolution in private. While the episcopalian session was willing to agree, it ensured that the poor also benefitted. It ruled that all privately absolved persons had to pay 100 merkes into the poor box. Despite the cost, many took advantage of the scheme. One was "Robert Sands, gentleman of the Kings Guard [who] confessed his sin of fornication with Margaret Cock and having made petition of his hearty grief and sorrow was privately absolved having paid his penalty for use of the poor".¹²⁹

After the change in church government, the records are more reticent about the sources of revenue. As the kirk still had to support the poor, it would be very surprising if the same sources were not used. One source used all over the British Isles, including the Canongate, was the renting of pews to members of

the congregation. The sums needed were not large - in 1690 Mr Dalmahay's seat cost him £14 Scots per annum.¹³⁰ A healthy income depended on renting a large number of pews. The twenty-seven pews rent in 1692 collected £359.10.00. This money was not however so easy to collect. In August 1687 the treasurer was ordered "to pursue all bygone Pewmealls".¹³¹

Year	Number
1684 and 1685	23
1686 - 7	15
1687 - 8	33
1692	27

Table 11 Number of Pews Rented
in the Canongate Kirk

Other methods of raising money were used by other parishes.¹³² As the Canongate was able to raise an adequate amount by the means described, these other methods were not employed. Despite the lack of a regular compulsory stent, the parish was able to extract enough revenue by the 'voluntary' collections. Partly this was because the parish was a community with common interests. It was also a religious community which believed in and supported the teachings of the church. Despite the scepticism of many observers, the session had sufficient funds to help its own paupers and normally had enough remaining to help some strangers even if this entailed ignoring the law.¹³³

E) The Effectiveness of Poor Relief

It is not easy to gauge the success of poor relief. Firstly, what definition of success should be used - that 'x' pounds were spent; that 'y' paupers were assisted; that 'z' persons did not die quite so soon as they might have; or that 'v' vagrants were banished from the parish? Even if a suitable definition could be arrived at, measurement would still be difficult due to the subjectivity of the material. Effectiveness can only really be gauged in comparison with other parishes, in this case in London and Dublin.

Certainly the kirk session in the Canongate did spend a great deal of money on the needy - over £10,400 Scots in six and a half years. Yet even this sum is small when compared with the incomes of those in the parish. Compared with many other Scottish parishes the Canongate was a good place for the poor. This is illustrated by the large numbers of strangers in receipt of relief. That the session had to make arrangements to have the poor kept away from the kirk helps to confirm that the pressure of numbers was considerable.¹³⁴

It is difficult to estimate the actual number of poor in the parish. The proclamations and Acts ordered the keeping of lists and the session minutes record that the poor were checked but unfortunately none of the lists survive.¹³⁵ Historians have attempted to set guidelines for estimating the number of needy persons in a parish. Clark and Slack suggest that about 5% of the population, though add that this could rise to 33% in times of crisis.¹³⁶ In the Canongate this would give a base

of 200 persons rising to over 1,500. A more precise measure can be gained by subtracting the population total based on the 1690 Hearth Tax from the population total estimated from the number of baptisms for the same year. The former should include only those able to pay tax and therefore not poor, while the latter should include the whole parish.¹³⁷ This results in a total assisted population of between 319 and 872 people. In both cases the lower figures are likely to be absolute minimum as some residents undoubtedly slipped through the records. The estimates are all very approximate due to the nature of the material. Population estimates are always full of pitfalls and hidden dangers, some of which were recorded in Chapter Two. In 1690 a maximum of 182 persons were helped by the kirk session over the year.¹³⁸ Of these, only 18 to 20 were on the permanent roll at any one time. Obviously this was fewer than the number in need of relief.¹³⁹ While the session was generous it was by no means tackling the whole problem.

The session was of help in individual cases. Thomas Johnstone would have been unable to have had his leg properly set without help and George Bulman's relict would not have been able to afford a proper funeral for her husband.¹⁴⁰ Yet even those getting relief were not being pampered. 7/- per week (Scots) was not a great deal of money. Even those receiving as much as £1 Scots were getting little more than a labourer's daily wage. It was expected that the recipients had income coming from other sources. In the economic system of the time, opportunities would have existed to earn something.¹⁴¹

While the system worked reasonably well in the short term, in the long term it was short-sighted. It could do nothing to solve the problem of unemployment. This is not a criticism, merely an observation. No system in use at that time was intended to solve the problem. At best it was possible to alleviate the suffering; little effort was made to cure the root cause. Those it was intended to help - the impotent poor - did benefit. For the 'able-bodied' poor the laws could only suggest the workhouse, corporal punishment, branding and banishment. Even these were rarely carried out.¹⁴² There was a set of stocks in the Canongate, but was used only once by the session when Robert Munro was "put . . . to the stools" in 1690. The measures concerned with the 'able-bodied' poor were not designed to help them but merely persuade them that it was in their interests to go somewhere else - where did not really matter. The refusal of parishes to admit strangers on a permanent basis merely led to the creation of a class of permanent travellers unable to fulfil the residence qualifications because the kirk was unable to maintain the necessary baptism records. Without these the poor could not prove where they were born.

The laws did suggest that the poor should be put to work either by private enterprises or in workhouses,¹⁴³ but these were largely ignored. There was no work for the unemployed to do in Scotland. They could only be fitted into the economy at the expense of those already there. This was equally true in the Canongate, especially as it appears to have been in economic decline. Even in England, attempts to set up employment on a

self-sustaining basis failed. Only in one area of long term investment did the system come close to success. It was recognised that children needed to be educated and found employment if they were not to be a permanent burden on the parish. The kirk therefore paid for the education and apprenticeship of pauper children.¹⁴⁴ While the scheme may have worked in times of economic boom, in times of decline (such as the Canongate was entering) it may merely have led to more unemployed craftsmen. However, at least they had a chance to earn a living.

Poor relief in the Canongate obviously had some effect. The necessity to issue so many proclamations indicates a steady flow of vagrants into the city. In 1691, 1692, 1693 and 1694 proclamations were issued and read from the pulpit ordering all beggars to return to their own parishes.¹⁴⁵ That of 1693 admits that previous attempts to enforce the law had failed. The pauper community was willing to risk the various punitive measures in order to remain in the Canongate. This surely indicates that the parish was successful in helping not only its own impotent poor but at least some strangers as well.

This success must be seen in the light of the general economic climate. In Edinburgh, the years 1685 to 1694 were comparatively favourable with good harvests and relatively little disease. Though the system was working well it was not experiencing any crisis. Could a system based on voluntary contributions hold together during a period of severe dearth when the number of paupers would rise dramatically? The answer would depend on the quality of the minister and his kirk session.

If it cared enough and had sufficient authority in the parish, the system would continue to work. Unfortunately in the Canongate the crisis corresponded with a decline in economic strength. The parish may no longer have had the resources to cope. The Account and Minute books for the parish do not survive for the last years of the decade, so it is impossible to ascertain the effects of the 'Seven Ill Years' on the community. The records of Edinburgh Council show that the parish was under pressure and needed financial support. However the Canongate seems to have 'weathered the storm' though there was a steep rise in burials.

Poor relief was organised for other reasons as well as the health of the needy and the consciences of the wealthy. There existed a fear among the successful that the distressed poor would grow in number until they rebelled. Idleness and poverty were thought to cause "diseases, beggary, translations of inheritance, seditions [and] rebellions".¹⁴⁶ The craftsmen and gentry paid poor relief to give the needy some money and to keep them peaceful. If it succeeded it was a good investment. In the Canongate the majority of disruptions were caused by apprentices and scholars over religious and political issues - the poor only became involved as an afterthought. The paupers, beggars, sconers and vagabonds, while indulging in normal crime, did not arrive at a position from which they could threaten the stability of the community. For this reason, if no other, poor relief must be gauged a success - at least for those who paid it.

CHAPTER FOUR SECULAR CONTROL IN THE CANONGATE

(i) THE BURGH

The burgh of the Canongate was created in 1128 when a Charter was granted by David I to the Abbot of Holyrood. The development of burghs in Scotland is still a matter of debate amongst historians.¹ There is however a general consensus that the trading privileges were influenced by developments in England. At first the distinction between royal and non-royal burghs was absent due to the small numbers of the latter. The main buttresses of their position were their monopolistic privileges and rights of self government (albeit dependent on the wishes of the burgh's superior). The main distinctions between royal and non-royal burghs were the former's monopoly on overseas trade; their representation in Parliament² and their membership of the Convention of Royal Burghs. Some difficulty exists in defining the factors that classed an area as a burgh, apart from the possession of a charter. W.M. McKenzie has isolated several characteristics of a burgh of barony (or regality) which separate this type from the royal burgh.³

The Canongate's charter was confirmed in 1343 when another was granted by David II which allowed the abbots to

"possess all their foresaid lands [including the Canongate] and free Regality in all and by all as freely and quietly as in Regality⁴ is held and possessed by anyone in our kingdom".

As superiors it was for the abbots to decide on the form of government. They quickly granted the community the right to elect

burgh bailies, treasurer and council who possessed all necessary power and authority - they could act as the magistrates of the burgh court of barony. The only office controlled by the Abbots was that of baron bailie - their representative in the regality.

The superiority of the burgh was to change hands several times. After the Reformation it was the possession of Robert Stewart, Commendator of Holyrood. He was to exchange it later with the Bishop of Orkney. In 1587 the Canongate was combined with the other abbey lands of Broughton, North Leith and several smaller tracts into the Barony of Broughton. This was then presented to Sir Lewis Bellenden and remained in his family until 1636.⁵ The baron bailie was responsible for the entire regality while the two burgh bailies were responsible for merely the Canongate. In 1636 the town of Edinburgh finally gained the superiority of the Barony though its Charter was not granted until 11th December 1639. The city had long been jealous of the independent jurisdiction outside its walls. From the earliest days, intense rivalry had existed between the craftsmen of Edinburgh and those of Canongate. This was aggravated by the Canongate having free access to the capital's markets thus setting itself up as a competitor.⁶ The rivalry often took the form of violence which could lead to the intervention of the Privy Council.⁷ The Canongate had succeeded in defending its privileges more or less successfully up until this point but the magistrates of Edinburgh were determined to change that.

As in other burghs, the membership of the ruling council had altered over time. The major conflict was that between the

crafts and the merchants. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries the council had been dominated by the 'maltmen' who had nine representatives to the crafts' four (the deacons of the Incorporated Trades). The other members were the two bailies and the burgh treasurer. The crafts challenged the plutocratical domination by appealing to the Privy Council that the elections did not observe the Act of 1469.⁸ This was not an easy period for the magistrates as the superior was also trying to exert his authority. The Privy Council found in favour of the crafts and decreed that the new burgh council was to comprise of seven new members selected by the old, the previous bailies and treasurer plus the newly elected officials.⁹ Assuming four of the members were the deacons of the crafts, the number of 'maltmen' would be reduced to three. Apart from this one instance the crafts and merchants in the Canongate lived in remarkable harmony compared with other burghs.

The records of Edinburgh Town Council show that by 1650 the 'city fathers' had decided to exercise their rights.¹⁰ The council had already enforced its right to appoint the magistrates.¹¹ This had not reaped the expected benefits for Edinburgh and it was decided that the Canongate's council should be fettered. The Canongate naturally refused to co-operate.¹² In the long run there was little that could be done as Edinburgh had the right to settle the form of government in the burgh. This it achieved in May 1652.¹³ Edinburgh Council was to elect all the bailies plus a council of thirteen selected from a list of sixteen drawn up by the old council to which it could add three names. It is

open to doubt ^{whether} ~~if~~ members had to reside in the burgh, certainly the baron bailie did not have to be a resident.¹⁴ The membership soon altered to consist of two bailies, treasurer, six ordinary councillors and six deacons of Incorporations.¹⁵ It is difficult to decide just how important the influence of the Edinburgh council was. Did it attempt to 'pack' the burgh with its own acolytes or did it merely 'rubberstamp' the Canongate's own selection?

Whatever Edinburgh's tactics were, they failed. While able to appoint the magistrates the council was unable to control their activities. The burgh continued to defend its privileges with great effect. The disputes between the trades of the two burghs continued unabated. The Council of Edinburgh had in effect saddled itself with ultimate responsibility for the Canongate (in matters such as stent, hygiene and street maintainance) without obtaining the benefits of destroying the burgh's independence.¹⁶ It was not to be until 1856 that Edinburgh was able to emerge victorious from the struggle and incorporate the burgh into the city.

"The burgh of the Canongate - founded reared and nourished by the church, and protected by the Crown for generations - after experiencing many vicissitudes and changes, has at last succumbed to constitutional decay; the sand glass of its Corporate duration is run out; - Magistracy, Incorporations and kindred institutions abolished; . . . "¹⁷

(ii) BURGH MAGISTRATESA) Composition

There is some confusion over exactly how many magistrates there were in the Canongate. The secondary sources suggest that there were three - the baron bailie and the two burgh bailies.¹⁸ The former had responsibility for all serious criminal cases except treason. The burgh bailies dealt with civil cases plus petty theft. The remaining Act Books for the burgh and the records of Edinburgh Council record only the baron bailie, one resident bailie and the treasurer each year.¹⁹ As Edinburgh appointed the magistrates its records should be accurate.²⁰ It is possible that the duties of baron bailie and burgh bailie had been merged into one office. Alternatively one of the burgh bailies was traditionally the depute of the baron bailie and it may be that one of the burgh bailies was being referred to by this title.

Office was meant to be for one year but it was not uncommon for officials to serve for longer periods - David Denoon was 'gate' bailie from 1690 to 1696, David Whyte was treasurer from 1692 to 1694 while Angus Black held the same office from 1694 to 1696. This may indicate a lack of suitable candidates in the burgh. Certainly the wealth qualifications were high. Only seven office holders appear in the 1694 Poll Tax. Apart from John Paterson, recorded as being worth 'nothing', the poorest was Angus Black worth between 500 and 2,000 merkes per annum. Four others were worth 10,000 merkes while James Elder was worth up to 20,000 merkes. Rents are recorded on the Annuity Roll for nine magistrates and these also support the fact that office

Year	Name	Baron Bailie	Gate Bailie	Treasurer	Poll Tax	Rent	Kirk Post
1684	John Smith			✓	-	66.13.04	
1685	James Rae		✓		10,000	100.00.00	
1688	James Elder		✓		5,000-20,000	£12 + £60	
1688	Lawrence Ord			✓	10,000	80.00.00	Elder
1689	John Robertson	✓			-	30.00.00	Deacon
1689	Alex Kae		✓		-	66.13.04	
1689	Patric McAra		✓		10,000	-	Elder
1690	David Denoon		✓		10,000	66.13.04	
1690	John Paterson			✓	0	34.00.00	Elder
1694	Angus Black				500-2,000	16.00.00	Elder

Table 1 Wealth of Magistrates based on Poll Tax and Annuity Rolls

holders came from the wealthiest section of the community. The majority had property worth over £66 per annum and even John Paterson's apartment was valued at £34 - conflicting with the Poll Tax's image of him. Burgh bailies and treasurers were inhabitants of the burgh but the same was not always true of the baron bailie. Of the holders of this office between 1684 and 1696 there are no records of six living in the Canongate. As it was through this office that Edinburgh attempted to influence affairs in the burgh it is likely that the superiors would have attempted to put one of their own in it.

The interdependence between church and state was emphasised by the fact that at least five magistrates were also members of the kirk session. The total may have been much higher if the years on either side of those studied are taken into account. That church and burgh could rely on one another's assistance strengthened the authority of both, though it would be fair to say that the kirk benefited most. There was no similar common identity between the magistrates and the trades apart from the fact that some bailies were members of Incorporations. The magistrates did not hold office in the trades. James Elder was actually in trouble with his Incorporation (the Baxters) for breaking a boycott of Edinburgh in 1696 and was fined £20 Scots.²¹ At the beginning of the century there had been some ill-feeling between the magistrates and the crafts which may have led to this situation.²² The political and religious upheaval of 1688 left its mark on burgh government. The bailies elected in November 1688 were deposed in April of the following year. Little detail

of the reason is given except that there were complaints about the election.²³

Overall, there was little difference between the magistrates and those who held lesser offices in the session or the trades apart from degree of wealth. Given the social attitudes of the time this was only to be expected. The magistrates needed a certain authority or superiority (which wealth gave them) if they were to carry out their business. Office also involved the probability of expenses which had to be met out of the magistrate's own pocket. Coming from a background similar to that of the other parish regulators the magistrates would have identified with the interests of the Kirk and even the Incorporations. They were thus willing to co-operate if the situation demanded it.

B) Jurisdiction

The jurisdiction associated with the Canongate was by the seventeenth century, complicated in form. The burgh was under the jurisdiction of two courts. As a burgh, the Canongate had the right to its own court. At an early stage the abbots had invested the bailies with magisterial responsibility for this.²⁴ The competence of the court was very limited in practice, though not in theory.²⁵ Its criminal jurisdiction was somewhat similar to that of a baron court. The civil jurisdiction was concerned mostly with economic affairs (such as the trades or petty debt) and matters affecting 'gude nycht burheid' - the lawburrows and deforcement for example. Apart from the three head courts at Michaelmas, Yule and Easter, there was no fixed

time for the courts to meet but as occasion demanded it. The efficiency of the court is open to doubt, especially in criminal matters. As Pryde points out, the magistrates were unpaid and expected to make a profit (for themselves and the burgh) from the fees and fines. However, as there was less scope for this in criminal cases they were less interested in these causes.²⁶

Above the Burgh Court sat the main court of the superiors - the Regality Court, usually under the supervision of the baron bailie. This, the highest franchise court, possessed nearly all the powers normally associated with the monarch.²⁷ The magistrates could try any criminal case bar treason, including the four pleas of the crown (rape, arson, murder and robbery). Civil jurisdiction was equally extensive. The court could repledge any case from a royal court involving an inhabitant of the regality to its own care. While the court had to guarantee that justice would be done, it is very doubtful this was always the case. This meant that few cases involving the Canongate would come before either the Court of Session or the High Court of Justiciary. In fact only one case has been found in the High Court records concerning an inhabitant of the Canongate.²⁸ This was a murder trial and raises doubts as to whether the Broughton regality actually had jurisdiction over the four pleas of the Crown. The Regality Court had jurisdiction over all of the Barony of Broughton, not just the Canongate though the Court sat in the Canongate. One of the Canongate bailies was the depute of the baron bailie and it may have been he who was in effective control of the court. As with the Burgh Court, the Regality had

to meet at the three term times. In practice at these times the two courts sat as one dealing with the business of both jurisdictions.

The surviving records for this period are unfortunately quite poor. Two volumes of the Acts of the Bailies and four volumes of Diet Books and Bonds of Caution are all that is available apart from some extracts from Head Court Rolls.²⁹ The Diet Books are of very limited use as in the vast majority of cases only the names of those involved are recorded. The records of the Regality Court are almost totally lost. This is very common as most of these records seem to have been lost in or after 1748 when the jurisdictions were abolished. Even before that date many records were destroyed once the courts' instructions were carried out and the paper they were written on was meaningless. Only a little from the head court remains and it can be difficult to decide which 'hat' the magistrates were wearing - burgh or regality. Despite these disadvantages, it is still possible to gain some idea of the operation of the burgh administration.

The majority of cases appearing before the Burgh Court were of a civil nature, confirming the findings for the late sixteenth century.³⁰ Little or no detail was given about the nature of the litigation. One category which does stand out is the 'service of heirs',³¹ by which a person is recognised as the legal heir and beneficiary of a will. Debt appears to have been another common action before the court. Civil business kept the magistrates busy and the court was usually meeting several times a month.

The preservation of 'gude nycht burheid' was one of the

magistrates' main concerns. To this end they put potential trouble makers under caution not to break the peace ('law-burrows'). These were usually taken out by individuals to protect their person and property. In May 1691, for example, the constable of Pleasance agreed to be cautioneer for John Anderson and his wife. The Andersons were to keep the peace and to ensure that Robert Stevenson and his wife would "be harmless and good".³² Often law burrows would be taken out by both sides of the dispute. It was not only individuals who felt in need of protection. The baxters of North Leith took an action against John Fentoun, a tailor, in May 1691.³³ The amount of the caution could vary from £40 to £100 Scots. A common offence against good neighbourhood was "culminating and abusing" a resident, the offence of which John Nelson, a beggar, was found guilty in October 1692.³⁴

On occasions, matters went beyond verbal abuse and violence was resorted to. Janet Johnstone was briefly imprisoned for "beating and strocking Nicholas Edwards spouse to James Johnstone"³⁵ until she promised not to do the same again under pain of banishment. Petty theft was also common and may have been the cause of the assault recorded above. On the same date James Johnstone was found guilty of selling an iron pot belonging to William Douglas. If the cases are connected it is interesting that the wife of a thief could still expect protection from the magistrates.

The bailies were also keen to protect their own dignity. Adam Darling was found guilty of culminating their good names in May 1691.³⁶ As a result Darling was threatened with a fine

of £50 sterling if he was found guilty of the same offence again.

An attack on the bailies would be regarded as a very serious matter as it represented an attack on the established order.

If their authority and dignity was challenged successfully, the magistrates could have expected to lose much of their effectiveness in the burgh. The bailies also had to protect their jurisdiction from the Edinburgh courts. They were careful not to establish a precedent for the authority of Edinburgh in the burgh. Any such challenge would be quickly dealt with.

"Compeired William King and William Dobie, two of the ordinar officers of the good town of Edinburgh. Who were incarsarated yesterday . . . for their most irregular apprehending of William Young procurator at the Barr . . . as like wise did not crave the Baillies concurrence as use is. And now being very sensible of both the said gros and unmanerly faults and promising never to be guilty again . . . [are] set at liberty". 16 November 1692.

Offence	Number
Theft	1
Assault	1
Slander	2
False Pass	2
Lawburrows	11
Caution	3
Unlawful Arrest	1
Abuse of the Sabbath	1
Administration	12
Vagrancy	2
Service of Heirs	7*

* Sample only August to October 1687

Table 2 Cases before the Burgh Court 1691-1695

At least three times a year the Head Court of the Regality also sat in the Canongate. As the officials involved were the same as those in the Burgh Court, the business of both was conducted simultaneously. Only the nature of the business can indicate which jurisdiction was being applied. The business before the Regality Court was very similar to that of the Burgh Court but could include more serious crimes.

The major offence was robbery. One case reflected the troubled times of the 'Seven Ill Years' when thieves were caught after removing a large quantity of peas from a warehouse. The peas may have been identifiable in some way as the authorities had no trouble in recognising them.³⁷ In June 1696 a cellar was robbed. An everyday occurrence except that the servant who ran the cellar claimed that one Anna Ogilvie had foretold the event by "natural magic" or "planett influence". The servant wanted Anna arrested so that she could use her powers to discover the criminal.³⁸ That such a claim could be accepted illustrates the still open-ended nature of the debate on astrology at the end of the century. The belief in witchcraft and folk magic had not yet died out and witchcraft was still a capital crime, though prosecutions were less common than formerly.³⁹ Whatever the state of popular attitudes, however, the authorities no longer took the existence of witchcraft for granted. When Helen Kellman in North Leith was accused of being a "witch bitch", taking away all power from a girl for nine months and drowning several men, the court decided it was merely a case of slander. The prosecutors were charged with the abuse of God's name and blasphemy.⁴⁰

Attitudes among the educated sections of society were changing and such charges were no longer taken at face value.

The Canongate was unable to survive the disruption of 1688 unscathed. Riots took place in the burgh against the papists and the Chapel Royal in Holyrood which had been converted for their use. Under cover of the confusion more materialistically minded persons took to looting. The magistrates must have been powerless to take effective counter-measures as they offered 14 days amnesty for the stolen goods to be returned claiming that the behaviour was "contrair not only to the lawes of the kingdom and government of the place but lykways to all Christiane practice used amongst Christians in ane Civilized place".⁴¹

The magistrates were expected to support the authority of the church. This was often achieved through the bailies being members of the session.⁴² The courts also supported certain ecclesiastical dictates with the 'Civil Sword!'. The kirk was especially anxious for the support of the burgh officers in enforcing the observance of the sabbath.

"The Session of the Canongait, having represented to the magistrates there of the many abuses and profanities afterment of the Lords Day within the bounds of the paroch and deseyred theire authority to be interposed for suppressing there of in time coming. And the magistrates being willing . . . ordaine their constables . . . to go along with the elders . . . for the suppressing of all abuses and profanities."⁴³

The burgh council was also willing to support the kirk in the suppressing of immorality and issued proclamations (doubtless of little effect) to this end. Many crimes against the kirk were also crimes against the state though this did not always

mean that the state would take action.⁴⁴ The main aid given to the kirk by the court was simply the knowledge that it would support the session. If a community knew that the kirk had lost the support of the civil sword then the session would find its work much more difficult, if not impossible. This is what happened to the *episcopalian* session in 1689.

The punishments imposed by the magistrates appear at first sight varied and harsh. Adam Darling was fined £50 sterling; Isobel Birnie was to leave the parish in 8 days; banishment and whipping were other penalties. In every case, bar those involving strangers, however, the penalty was suspended. Darling's fine, though large, would only have been collected if he had offended again and James Johnstone would only have been banished if he stole again. With strangers, however, the punishment was always carried out - Isobel Birnie had to leave, Thomas McPherson and John McIntosh had also to depart or else join the army.⁴⁵ This reflects the dilemma faced by the local judicial authorities. The Canongate was not a large area and many of the offenders would be known to the magistrates. Heavy sentences would only have created personal antagonisms and perhaps cause more trouble than the original offence. This is best illustrated by the instructions issued to the constables assisting the session on the Sabbath.

" . . . [the officers are] to carry civillie Christianly and soberly and that they reprove with all meekness, that they forebear any irritation and when the persons offending prove hot and hastie that they beware of giving evil language . . ."⁴⁶

Though the law of the land may demand one norm of behaviour,

the achievement of it may cause more trouble than the enforcement of the law is worth. The constables above were being told to inform the drinkers of the law and to leave it at that. The important thing was to preserve peace in the burgh - to enforce the laws too strictly could destroy the peace. The divergence between the letter of the law and the discretion with which it was enforced in practice was common in early modern Britain and this example illustrates the danger of depending on legislative history as a means of interpreting the past.⁴⁷

Attitudes towards jails and imprisonment in the seventeenth century also differed from those of today. Prison (if the burgh possessed one) was a place to restrain a person until he could be brought to trial. Very few offenders (especially at this level) were sentenced to any form of imprisonment. In part this was because there was no machinery for maintaining prisoners. Whilst in jail, a prisoner had to maintain himself or starve. The latter was often the case and resulted in appeals for release. James McIntosh was imprisoned after intervening in a fight between two drunks and his father during which one of the assailants was injured. McIntosh claimed that there was no one to support him and that only the generosity of the other prisoners prevented him from starving.⁴⁸ Unless there was a sound reason ~~not to~~, the person would be set free under a bond of caution to appear at his trial. The alternative was to pay for the upkeep of the prisoner. Tennety Wood was paid 2/= Scots per day. She was kept in the tolbooth as she had refused to appear before the session on a charge of fornication.⁴⁹

The magistrates in the seventeenth century were in many ways more enlightened than those of today. They recognised that imprisonment was expensive and achieved little. Their interest was to maintain peace and stability. To achieve this they did not mind bending the enactments of the law. The threat of a fine could be more effective than the actual fine as it hung above the offender like the Sword of Damocles. The harsher treatment of strangers was typical in a community whose prime concern was for the residents.

C) Other Business

The burgh magistrates had economic and administrative duties as well as judicial responsibilities. In an urban area the courts were bound to have economic interests. The most important were regulating prices and the quality of consumer goods, especially food stuffs. In 1690 an Act was passed attempting to control the quality of meat sold in the burgh. Naturally the deacon of the fleshers was made responsible and was expected to inspect the meat every day.⁵⁰ Prices had been set by an Act of Council in 1669 and these were confirmed in 1727.⁵¹ This Act regulated the price of everything from the hire of a hackney coach to the price of poultry ($\frac{1}{4}$ d sterling per cart load).

The bailies were also responsible for the more mundane activities connected with burgh legislation - cleaning the streets, relieving the burgh of beggars, admitting new burgesses and overseeing the Incorporations. The magistrates were also in

charge of the militia - though its effectiveness was open to question. In 1688 of the 43 "gunns" possessed by the Council, only eight were in working order and the remainder had to be repaired.⁵² The timing of this (October 1688) was doubtless no accident as the country was under threat of invasion from William of Orange. Officers were appointed to the militia though the position would have been of more social than military importance.

The quartering of regular troops was one of the most enduring problems faced by the burgh magistrates. In 1687 several petitions and complaints were entered. The difficulty was still present in 1696 when the constables complained that the division of the troops equally between the 'quarters' was not fair as the quarters were not equal.⁵³ Apart from attempting to gain the favour of the military through honorary burgess tickets, there was little the magistrates could do.

In the Canongate the magistrates had the responsibility of paying the ministers' stipends. The matter came before the court in May 1695 when it was decided that "due to the late and present circumstances of the place", the Annuity Roll was not sufficient to pay their wages.⁵⁴ The magistrates along with the Heritors and Incorporations selected those who were to be appointed to the Canongate Kirk. Magistrates and ministers were very close and this assisted both to maintain their authority in the burgh.

The courts could not function without the lesser officials. Of these the most important were the burgh constables, four of

Name	Date	Deacon	Elder	Master	Boxmaster	Deacon	Trade	Poll Tax
Arthur, Wm.	93-94						Tailor	500-5,000
Brotherstones, Jas	92-93							500
Campbell, Arch	93-94						Brewer	5,000-10,000
Christie, Geo	92-93						Tailor	0
Cochrane, John	95-96						Smith	
Cook, Jas	92-93						Baxter	
Dewar, Daniel	95-96						Brewer	100
Douglas, John	96-97						Cordiner	0
Fairlie, Alex	93-94						Tailor	0
Haggin, Andrew	95-96				93-94		Wright	100
Henderson, John	96-97						Brewer	200
Jackson, Patrick	95-96	89-93			88-89		Couper	300
McDougall, John	92-93						Tailor	0
McKie, Alex	96-97						Baxter	300
Merstain, Jas	95-96						Cordiner	1,000
Miller, Jas	93-94							0
Naismith, Daniel	94-95						Sadler	133
Orrock, John	93-94				90-94		Wright	
Reid, George	94-95						Tailor	
	96-97							
Robertson, Alex	93-94	88-89					Tailor	1,000-2,000
Ross, George	94-95						Cordiner	133
Smith, Andrew	94-95						Blacksmith	500-5,000
Smith, Andrew	96-97						Cordiner	0
Smith, Wm	94-95						Baxter	200
Somervell, Jas	92-93		1693				Joiner	173

Table 3 Occupation, Wealth and Position of the Burgh Constables, 1692-1697

whom were elected each year. It is commonly held that only those who were unable to buy their way out actually held this office.⁵⁵ To the majority of the population it was too time-consuming, lacking in reward and thankless. In the Canongate this was not the case. Most of those who were constables between 1692 and 1697 also belonged to an Incorporation, a few (three) were even masters. Others gained posts on the kirk session. Of the twenty-five constables between 1692 and 1697, twenty-one were recorded on the 1694 Poll Tax. Only six (28%) paid the minimum level. One, Archibald Campbell, was rated as worth 10,000 merks. Clearly the Canongate had a higher standard of constable than was common in the seventeenth century. The reason is difficult to discover. The residents may have been concerned about law and order or they may have merely been unable to avoid service. It would be very interesting to discover if this also improved the standard of policing in the burgh.

As with all offices, that of magistrate was unpaid (apart from the profits that could be made in court). It was hoped that an individual's ambitions, public conscience and desire for social advancement would attract suitable candidates. That this was not the case is illustrated by the long service of some magistrates. As with other offices, a system of perks operated. The magistrates obtained the best seats not only in the Canongate Kirk but also that of North Leith. They also expected to enjoy themselves at the expense of the stent payers. The calling of a head court was often used as a reason for a celebration.

30 April 1692

Imprimus in the morning a Chapon of Claret	
wine, 3 chapons of aill and ane gill of	
brandie	1. 1. 6
In the afternoon 9 pints* of Claret wine	14. 8. 0
Ail	1.16. 0
Tobaccos and pips and bread	10. 6
a win glass	4. 0
	<hr/>
	18. 0. 0

October 1691 at Bailie Raes

A Beef to John Paterson (treasurer)	
4 Chapens of seck	4. 0. 0
20 pints of eal	2. 0. 0
tebake and pips and brid	13. 0
	<hr/>
	6.13. 0

More at the kings birthday⁵⁶

* a Scots pint was 2 Imperial pints.

The magistrates were the same type of person as those who wielded authority at other levels in the burgh, apart from being financially more successful. This was necessary if they were to influence the masters as well as the servants. Thus the magistrates' motives for acting were the same as those of the other guardians and guaranteed a certain level of co-operation.

(iii) THE INCORPORATIONS

A) History

Though trade groupings would have existed in the Canongate from an early date, it was not until the sixteenth century that these finally gained legal recognition and were granted Seals of Cause by the burgh superiors. The Incorporations of Hammermen, Baxters, Cordiners and Tailors all achieved this in the 1530's.⁵⁷ These four were the only Incorporations to exist for over eighty years until joined by the Fleshers, Wrights, Weavers and Barbers in the early seventeenth century. It is unlikely that the eight covered all the trades present in the burgh and some skilled workmen must have been unrepresented. One group notable by its absence is the merchant community. This would have had an important role to play in the period when the royal court remained in Scotland. The merchants must have been able to exert sufficient influence through their wealth not to need a formal body to represent their interests.

Before the Reformation, the Guilds had a very strong association with the Catholic church. Each had its own patron saint and saint day celebrations. On occasions the guild would meet in the church and meetings always commenced with a prayer.⁵⁸ It was customary for the guilds to finance the building of chapels and altars celebrating their own saint in the church. If the finance was available they were also expected to provide priests and other ecclesiastical officials. Overall the activities at this time resemble those of a club more than a union - religious plays and pageants were organised to celebrate feast days.⁵⁹

The Reformation altered this mode of existence. The visible celebration and pageantry were abandoned, though often reluctantly. In this the crafts lost some of their identity. The change however was not totally unwelcome. The maintainance of the connections with the pre-Reformation church had been expensive. Now the crafts found themselves with comparatively large sums once spent on the maintainance of priests and altars. In any case the trades did not sever all connections with the church - both had too many common interests and needs. This was illustrated in the previous chapter by the number of guild officers who were also members of the session. The change in attitudes caused by the Reformation does not mean that the craftsmen were less religious. They were still keen to maintain their lofts or pews in the parish church.

"Deacon and Boxmaster to procur 400 merkes
for the seat in the New Kirk that it might have
the same height and station as that in the
Abbey"⁶⁰

The interest in religious affairs was being displaced by economic, jurisdictional and social concerns. The Incorporations were primarily concerned with protecting their own rights. It was with this in mind that the four Incorporations had come together in 1610 and signed an agreement of co-operation against any threat to their privileges.⁶¹ This created a council of the four trade deacons plus their assistants which was to co-ordinate action against any threat and to solve inter-guild disputes with recourse to the other jurisdictions. At first Incorporation members were not allowed to go to any other court

under any circumstances. This did not work and it was decided that members could go to other courts after they had put their case to the Convenor's Court. In an attempt to ensure that the Court was consulted, those members who did not follow the correct procedure would be fined and banned from using their vote in trade elections. With only internal jurisdiction and with the power to only fine errant members, the Convenor's Court found it difficult to exercise complete authority.

Disputes continued between Edinburgh and Canongate crafts. The former resented the existence of a privileged market which they were unable to enter. This was only aggravated by the right of the Canongate crafts to use Edinburgh market free of charge. The resentment often took the form of violence or intimidation with the Edinburgh crafts attacking the Canongate traders on the way to market. At other times the crafts would work with the Edinburgh magistrates and imprison the Canongate trade officials in attempts to demonstrate that the Canongate was under the control of Edinburgh. This happened in the 1690's to the Baxters and Weavers though both trades managed to defeat the Edinburgh initiatives.⁶²

In 1686 there had been some disturbances in the burgh provoked by the religious policies of James VII. These were used by the Edinburgh magistrates as an excuse to exert their dominance once again. On 8th February the trades were ordered that their members must sign bonds for the good behaviour of their apprentices and servants.⁶³ The trades realised that this could damage their independent position through the establishment of a

legal precedent. The Hammermen ordered their Deacon to "seek advise of an advocate over the band presented by Edinburgh . . . to ensure it does not infringe in their liberties".⁶⁴ The Edinburgh records do not note the result of their demands. It is unlikely that they were successful.

By the late seventeenth century the crafts and magistrates do not appear to have been in conflict with each other. The history of co-operation in earlier times had not been so peaceful. At the beginning of the seventeenth century the struggle (common to all burghs) between merchants and trades for control of the burgh had been resolved comparatively quickly and painlessly.⁶⁵ By the late century it was surely realised that the two must work together if the privileges of the burgh were to be protected from Edinburgh.

The Incorporations, now eight in number, were still powerful institutions at the end of the century. They had considerable representation on the council of the burgh, were still able to enforce the regulations concerning apprentices and craft standards, the deacons could still bring the members to heel and most importantly of all, the crafts could still defend their privileges. If the position in the Canongate was representative of the position in the other urban areas of Scotland, the crafts were more influential and important than those in London. In Scotland they were able to form one of the pillars on which social stability and control in the burgh rested.

B) The Officials

The election of office-holders in the individual trade councils was similar for all the crafts. All elections took place on the third of May. In theory, brothers who had not paid their year's fees could not vote, but no mention of this is made in the records. Voting was by a show of hands from a small leet.⁶⁶ The most important official was the deacon (a reminder of the semi-religious origins) who, as well as administering his own trade's affairs, also sat on the Convenor's Court and the Burgh Council. The deacon was supposed to be an ex-'boxmaster'. This official, as the name suggests, was in charge of the trade's box or funds. Below these officials there was a general council of masters also annually elected. The number varied depending on the size and component parts of the Incorporation. Thus the Wrights and Coupars had fifteen masters representing all the skills that made up the craft, while the Weavers had only eight masters on the committee. From the ranks of the elected masters were drawn other minor officials. These were expected to assist the deacon and boxmaster plus keep an eye on their activities - especially in financial matters. The administrative equipment was usually treble locked, insuring that the two 'keymasters' had to be present as well as the deacon or boxmaster. Different keymasters could exist for the 'meikle chest', 'the money box', the locked book and the 'fyne box' depending on the trade.

Some slight variations did exist - the Cordiners had a second deacon who was normally the deacon of the previous year.

His function was to assist and advise the new deacon.⁶⁷ The surviving minutes of all the trades do not record a single instance of office being refused. This is slightly surprising as the office was unpaid and under pressure from the trades in Edinburgh. It also contrasts very strongly with the situation in London where Guild office was unpopular and members went to court rather than accept responsibility. The small size of the Trades in the Canongate which would imply that the pressure of work was less along with the social distinction of being a deacon may explain the difference. Of course the office of deacon also gained the holder a seat on the Burgh Council which would have attracted the ambitious tradesmen.

Practice differed from theory in the length of time that officials remained in power. It had been decided as early as 1469 that no official should hold office for more than one year. In the Canongate this had later been modified to two years.⁶⁸ The records clearly show that this was often ignored - Thomas Kinloch was deacon of the Wrights in 1686, 1687, 1690, 1691, 1692 and 1693; John Fleming was boxmaster of the Weavers in 1690, 1691, 1692 and 1693; Alex Lindsey was deacon in 1688, 1689, 1694, 1695 and 1696.⁶⁹ This was against the interests of the trades as a few people in charge of the funds for long periods could result in accidental mistakes remaining uncovered.

Before taking office, all officials had to swear an oath of allegiance and promise to uphold the Protestant religion. During the period there was only one example of an official refusing to do so. James Dicks had been deacon of the Cordiners

in 1687 and 1688, second deacon in 1689, 1690, 1691, 1692 and deacon again in 1693. This time he refused to take the oath. It has been suggested that he was a Roman Catholic, despite the fact that he was a kirk elder in 1689. He was recorded as having attended mass in 1680 when the Duke of Albany was in residence at Holyrood.⁷⁰ In 1693 Dicks refused to resign office and merely stopped holding trade meetings. In the end the Cordiners had to take action.

"... that James Dykes is not acting as Deacon as he has not taken the oath of allegiance and assurance as required by act of Parliament. Nor has he been calling the trade when business requires it. Therefore with one voice they give William Brotherstones full power to act in his place"⁷¹

As James Dicks had been a member of the last episcopalian kirk session it is more likely that he was a staunch supporter of that church than a 'papist'. This is supported by the fact that he was immediately appointed second deacon - not a position likely to be given to a Roman Catholic. This also suggests that the majority of the trade members at least sympathised with his position even if they did not actively support it.

The relationship between those elected to office in the Incorporations (be it high or low) and the membership of the kirk sessions was strong. Between 1686 and 1696 twenty-five of the seventy-four session members were also trade officials in the same period. As records for only five trades survive, the total was undoubtedly higher. This led to a combination of identity and outlook. Craft deacons would be willing to use the session to discipline their members and vice versa.

As with other burghal offices, the possession of wealth was important, though not as important as in the other organs of local government. It was only necessary to be paying taxes at the lowest level to gain some type of post. However to reach high office a higher level of wealth was needed. Of the twenty-five trade officers who were also members of the session, eight paid 50/= Poll Tax, five paid 13/4 and only six paid 12/= (six are not known). In the trades wealth would have been a symbol of success and ability. It was only right that such people should rise to office. A certain level of wealth was needed in any case as service was 'voluntary' (that is, unpaid) and certain expenses would have to be covered if the Trade was short of money.

C) Responsibilities of the Incorporations

The crafts in the late seventeenth century were responsible for the control of their members in the economic affairs of the burgh. One of the most important concerns was that of quality control. The first safeguard was the long period of apprenticeship which had to be undergone. Officially this was to be seven years but on occasions varied - Robert Sturgeon was booked for six years by the Weavers (25th June 1691); James McClean was booked for five years by the Coupars.⁷² After this period the young man was expected to serve at least two years as a journeyman before being made 'free'. All the crafts had strict rules about the indenturing and feeing of apprentices. However, the existence of rules does not mean that they were

obeyed.⁷³

At the end of the apprenticeship the boys were to be examined by a panel of masters. This took the form of presenting an 'essay' or an example of the craft's art. In May 1686, Robert Thomson produced his

"essay viz the emblance of a house, 60 feet long with a game of 20 feet, 22 feet breadth, over the walls three stone high with doors, windows and chimney in the convenient places."

Other essays could include tables for joiners or shoes and slippers for cordiners. A great deal of formality was attached to the 'essay' but it was all ornamentation. There is no example of an essay being refused by the 'essay-masters' which implies that either all freemen were very high quality craftsmen or that the test was a formality.⁷⁴

The masters were also expected to patrol the burgh and check the standards of their members. This was partly to insure the honesty of the 'brothers', especially with regard to weights and measures. There is only one record of a craft actively engaging in this policy. On 24th August 1696 the Baxters issued an Act regulating the weight and price of bread. The only bread allowed to vary is old bread which has dried up. The officers even ensured that all the members signed the Act so that they could not plead ignorance. No similar measure was carried out by the other Incorporations.⁷⁵ The trades were also expected to exercise control in times of dearth and hardship. This applied especially to the Baxters who would be responsible for converting the available grain into bread.

In June 1696 this craft had to decide whether each freeman should get only 50% of the usual amount of grain or if they should be restricted in the times that they could have it ground. By a vote it was decided to restrict the amount distributed.⁷⁶ It should be emphasised that the Baxters did not have responsibility for the price at which the available bread would be sold - that was for the magistrates to decide.

The demand for bread must have been falling quite seriously in the Canongate before this. In 1693 the Baxters agreed that five years should pass between the feeing of one apprentice and the indenturing of another. This would severely limit the number of baxters available in the future. If the demand for a staple food such as bread was falling the most probable reason might be that the level of the population was decreasing. This is further evidence to support the possibility of the decline of the burgh at the end of the century. It also illustrates one of the main functions of the crafts - to maintain control over the supply of goods through limiting the number of freemen skilled in the art of production. All those who wanted to practise a skill in a burgh needed permission from the relevant Incorporation. The Canongate crafts exercised this jurisdiction over not only their own burgh but the entire regality including North Leith.⁷⁷

The craft officials were also expected to maintain internal discipline among their members. This was not easy as the only methods of persuasion were the fine and the withdrawal of craft privileges. It could even be difficult to secure equanimity

among the brethren. In 1686 John Forsyth, a cabinet-maker, complained that he had not yet been given the right to sell glass while Richard Threaves had. The deacon decided that he had as much right to sell glass as the said Richard. Members of the same craft could also come to blows through trying to procure custom from competitors. The Weavers tried to safeguard against this by enacting that members should not accept custom from other members under pain of heavy fine.⁷⁸

Little could be achieved if the dignity of office was not upheld by the deacons and boxmasters. Those who insulted or attacked the trade officials were severely punished and quickly repented of their error.⁷⁹ At the same time efforts were made to ensure that brothers behaved properly to each other - especially at the trade meetings. Some idea of what these were like can be gained from the decision of the Baxters to pass an Act which prevented more than one person from speaking at once.⁸⁰

If internal order was important, external order was even more so. The craftsmen had no interest in seeing tumult and riot on the streets and were willing to assist the burgh magistrates in achieving peace and order. The late 1680's were times of disorder caused by the policies of James VII and the craftsmen took measures to alleviate the situation. In early February 1686 the Hammermen considered the "abuse done by a rable and rascally crowd gathering in time of divine service and other times". They decided to encourage their apprentices to go to church and to be off the streets in times

tumult and after 8.00pm. Those who disobeyed were to be fined £10 Scots. In this affair the crafts were working partly to help the kirk maintain Sunday observance.

It was much more difficult for the Incorporations than other courts to enforce their authority. The usual range of punishments and persuasions was not available. Recourse was usually made as in the above example to fining the guilty. If the fine was not paid then a form of social ostracism could be applied. John Reus who had abused the Hammermen's boxmaster was expelled from the craft for a period.⁸¹ As with the kirk session, the Incorporations were willing to challenge the relatively powerful. The Baxters fined bailie James Elder £20 Scots for trading with Edinburgh when the Canongate was in dispute with that town.⁸² In the long run, while the power of the Crafts was maintained, members normally had to conform. If a tradesman lost his freedom then he also lost his right to trade and his means of living. At the end of the seventeenth century the Incorporations still had the ability to enforce this penalty.

The trades also spent a great deal of time defending their privileges from attack by the Edinburgh crafts. During the period 1680 to 1696 the Weavers, Hammermen and Baxters all came under assault and all were able to resist. The most drawn-out conflict concerned the Weavers. The problem started in January 1686 and continued until January 1692, during which time the Edinburgh Weavers had the Canongate's deacon under an Act of Horning. Only after great expense did the Canongate Weavers overcome the opposition.⁸³ When the deacon and box-

master of the Baxters were arrested, the craft retaliated by refusing to sell bread in Edinburgh.⁸⁴ This would have hurt the Baxters' pockets and is a measure of their determination to resist the encroachments of the larger burgh.

While resisting the 'rough wooing' of Edinburgh, the Canongate Incorporations had also to protect their own position of dominance in North Leith. The Weavers attempted to put a halt to competition in the Citadel through recourse to the Privy Council. In the end the Canongate trades had to give way, allowing the crafts in the rest of the regality more control over their own affairs and refraining from using North Leith as a 'milch-cow'.

The Incorporations were also obliged to care for their own poor. These fell into several categories including old brothers, relicts of members, orphans and those who had merely fallen on hard times. There is no evidence in the minutes that there was a regular distribution of money to the destitute. Individual donations of money were recorded, as when the Coupars gave the poor £38 Scots, but they are infrequent.⁸⁵ It is unlikely that the crafts had sufficient money to spare for many such acts of kindness. They were however willing to make loans to help members survive temporary unfortunate circumstances.⁸⁶ Another area in which they were willing to help was in ensuring that the sons of deceased members successfully became apprentices. As with the kirk sessions, it was recognised that this was the most productive means of ensuring children were not a future drain on precious resources.

While the religious associations of the Incorporations had been weakened by the Reformation, they had not been totally destroyed - the common membership of session and trade ensured that. The Incorporations saw themselves as one of the guardians of the parish. The Weavers were the most forthright in admitting that they wanted to maintain a role in religious affairs and keep their privileges in the kirk when they donated money towards the buying of land for the new kirk.⁸⁷ Along with the Heritors, the Incorporations demanded a say in the selection of new ministers. This was insisted on in 1694 by the Weavers when a new minister of the second charge was to be selected.⁸⁸ The most visible symbol of co-operation between kirk and crafts was the special pews or lofts for the craftsmen in the kirk. While visibly underlining the position of the Incorporations they also provided welcome revenue for the kirk.⁸⁹

Overall, the Incorporations were still very active in the late seventeenth century. They still retained their authority and had managed to maintain their privileges. With members on both the Burgh Council and the kirk session, the trades helped unite the groups most concerned with stability and order. In attempting to keep the apprentices in order and to assist the poor, the Incorporations overlapped the spheres of civil and ecclesiastical interest and jurisdiction. Altogether the Guild system in Edinburgh was in a much healthier state than that in London.

CHAPTER FIVE ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S - THE FABRIC OF THE PARISH

(i) THE FABRIC OF THE PARISH

The parish of St. Bartholomew's the Great was situated outside the walls of London towards the north-west of the city. Originally the parish had been part of the precinct of the priory of St. Bartholomew's, West Smithfield, founded in 1123 by Rahere for the Augustinian Order.¹ A hospital was founded at the same time and eventually became the parish of St. Bartholomew's the Less in 1544.² After the suppression the quire of the priory church became the parish church of St. Bartholomew's. Though the rights and patronage of the precinct were granted to Sir Richard Rich in 1540 it was not until 1559 - when it was regranted by Elizabeth I - that his possession was secure.³ Apart from the church the rest of the priory was either pulled down to finance Henry VIII or converted to secular use.⁴

Before the Reformation the precinct had possessed the rights of a 'liberty' and Rich was successful in maintaining these after the suppression.⁵ The privileges extended back to a Charter granted by Henry I and later confirmed by Henry III and Henry VII. The most significant privilege was that the precinct was not subject to the jurisdiction of the City of London. St. Bartholomew's also claimed the right to elect its own constables and 'watch' plus the power to collect its own rates for paving, cleaning, lighting and watching. Naturally this meant that the residents were unwilling to contribute to similar rates in the wards. Indeed St. Bartholomew's did not belong to a ward despite lying between

Farringdon Without and Aldersgate Without. This entailed some disadvantage as the main area in which the ordinary citizen could exercise his political ambitions was at the ward mote. Of considerable economic benefit was the inhabitants' right to trade without becoming 'free' of the city. Thus they escaped the time-consuming and expensive duties associated with the Guilds. It also resulted in conflict with the economic interests of the capital.

The liberties, including St. Bartholomew's, eventually lost their judicial independence in 1608 when James I gave the City Justices of the Peace authority over them (6 Jas I Sept. 20 1608). A later Act was more specific, stating that the liberties were under

"the rule, government, jurisdiction, oversight, search, correction, punishment, precepts and arrests of the said Mayor and commonality and citizens of our City of London for the time being and their officers and ministers for ever . . . "6

Despite this setback St. Bartholomew's maintained its other privileges including the right to select its own constables.

Like the Burgh of the Canongate, the parish of St. Bartholomew's the Great was not totally under the control of its large neighbour, though the London parish did not possess the same degree of freedom. The similarity between the parishes did not end there. Like the Canongate, St. Bartholomew's was small - only 8.9 acres in area (700 feet by 800 feet).⁷ It was also separated from the main city. The entrances to the parish were blocked by gates in order to protect the privileges

of the precinct. Without these the City authorities would have attempted to circumvent the letter of the law. Under Rich the number of gates was increased to eight.⁸ They were closed every night thus easing the problems involved in watching the parish. The gates may also have given the parish more of a local identity than possessed by 'open' parishes.

The bounds of the parish were guarded jealously and were walked once every three years. To the west and north they progressed up Duck Lane and Long Lane. It was only in the east around Half Moon Alley and London House that disputes existed with the neighbouring parish of St. Botolph's over the exact 'frontier'. On the whole St. Bartholomew's was able to hold its ground despite the hostility generated by its privileges. The bounds are shown on Ogilby's Map. For administrative purposes the parish was divided into three sections - Long Lane, Cloth Fair and Bartholomew's Close. Each of these had its own constable and was used for tax collection purposes.

Unfortunately the parish did not attract the same number of visitors and diarists as journeyed to Scotland's capital. It is therefore much more difficult to discover the physical condition of the parish. John Strype in his update of John Stow's description of London records the opinions of one Richard Bloome in 1694. His remarks are on the whole favourable towards the parish. Long Lane was "good, the Houses pretty good buildings and inhabited by Shopkeepers who deal in Apparel . . . ". Great St. Bartholomew's Close was "open and large with several good

houses, which generally are all well inhabited, as being a creditable place to live in". He recorded that one of the minor alleys, Westmoreland, was "paved with free stone", so it may be assumed that the larger streets were similarly treated. The remainder of the parish was described as "indifferent good" and "but ordinary".⁹ Obviously it was by no means one of the better quality parishes, but it was certainly by no means the worst.

Until the seventeenth century the parish was virtually unbuilt upon. This changed under Robert, Third Earl Rich who covered the Cloth Fair in buildings, mostly before 1612.¹⁰ After 1628 only fifty-eight more houses were erected.¹¹ The quality of the housing is not known. As Ogilby's map shows, apart from later houses built in the Close, the rest were laid out in neat rows. Some idea of the houses can be gained from a survey carried out in 1616.¹² This lists all the houses built by that time giving the number of rooms and, in a few cases, the building material. Out of a total of 205 only eight were described as being built of brick. As these were specifically mentioned it suggests that the rest were constructed of timber. In the Cloth Fair the general arrangement was a cellar, shop, two chambers and a garret - very similar to that discovered by Power in East London.¹³ The houses in the Close were larger, suggesting that the residents were slightly wealthier.¹⁴

Ten houses in the Cloth Fair and Long Lane were already described as "bad" implying that the standard of construction

was not high.

Layout	Number of Houses of Each Type
Cellar, Shop, 2 Chambers, Garret	166
Cellar, Shop, back room, 3 Chambers, Garret	2
Larger	14
Smaller	26
	208
1 Chamber (not including garrets	10
2 Chambers or cellars)	189
3 Chambers	8
4 Chambers	1

Table 1 General Layout of Houses in
St. Bartholomew's the Great in 1616

The size of house was rarely recorded. Some of the shops were quite small - seven feet by nine feet. If Ogilby's Map is accurate some idea of width can be gained by dividing the length of housing blocks by the number of houses listed in the row. Table 2 shows the width of some houses calculated by this method.

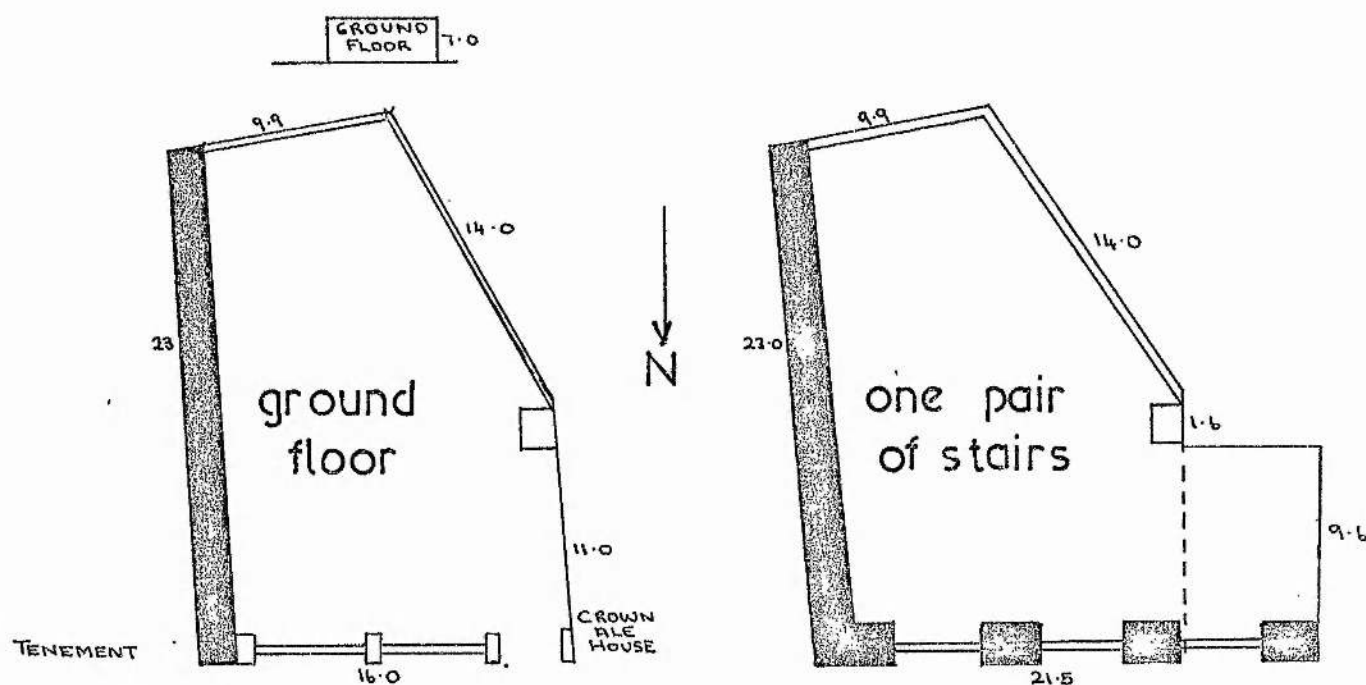
Housing Row	Width	
	ft	ins
Courthouse Row	15	5
Kelshawes	13	2½
Church	22	2½
Kentish	13	4
Rugmans	11	1

Table 2 The Width of Some of the Houses
in St. Bartholomew's the Great

The results compare well with the work of Power who calculated a frontage ranging from eleven feet to fifteen feet nine inches.¹⁵ If the depths in St. Bartholomew's also roughly agree, they will have ranged from twenty-six feet six inches to thirty-four feet six inches though more likely towards the smaller due to the small size of the parish. This is confirmed by the plans that remain for houses in the parish (Figure 1). These were drawn up in the late nineteenth century and may be representative of the buildings in general. Certainly they did not differ greatly from those in the east of London.

The 1616 survey recorded 205 houses in the Cloth Fair and Long Lane (though some were subdivided). At this stage there was no building in the Close. Finlay estimated a total of 276 houses in 1637 from the Tithe Roll.¹⁶ The 1666 Hearth Roll listed 336 taxable houses thus confirming Brett James' belief that there was little growth after 1620.¹⁷ This was a large number of houses for such a small area - 37.8 houses per acre. The high ratio suggests that there was a degree of overcrowding in the parish.

Few houses did not have a shop on their ground floors. This reflected the nature of the economy of the parish and also the influence of the Bartholomew Fair. When the housing had been erected it was stipulated in the contracts that the ground floor resorted to the 'superior' at the time of the fair, who then rented it as a shop.¹⁸ This condition was necessary as the houses had been erected where the stalls had traditionally stood.



Bartholomew Close

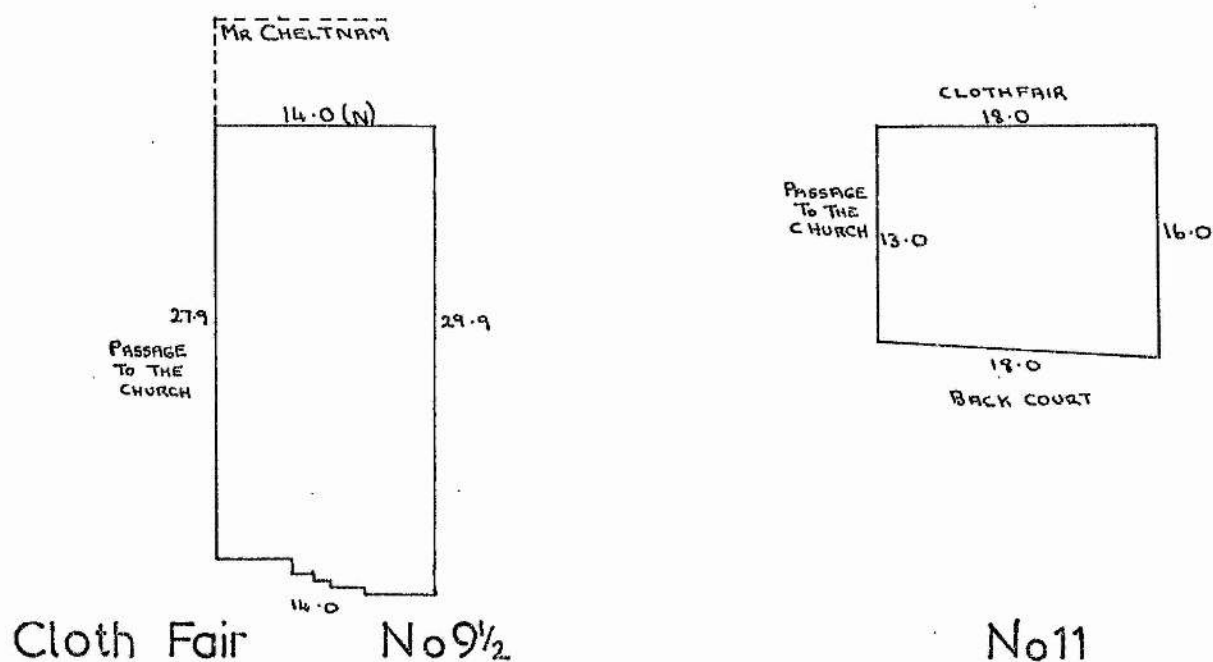


FIGURE 5.1

PLANS FOR SOME BUILDINGS IN
ST BARTHOLOMEW THE GREAT.

When the Close was developed its buildings were also used for commercial purposes though not ones directly connected with the Fair.

The Rich family had also gained the privilege of holding Bartholomew Fair. Originally this had been primarily a cloth fair (hence some of the parish names) and was judged to be the second most important fair in England.¹⁹ Officially it ran from the eve of the feast of St. Bartholomew until the day after it (23rd to 25th August). However, by the late seventeenth century this had been unofficially extended over fourteen days. Its geographical area had also extended over the neighbouring parishes of St. Bartholomew's the Less, Christ Church and St. Sepulchre's.²⁰ Though the fair was opened by the Lord Mayor, the City of London had no jurisdiction over the event. All legal matters were settled before the Court of Pie Powder.²¹ This court dealt with all commercial injuries and with petty theft. It was reputed to act quickly, which in all fairness it had to do as its jurisdiction lasted only for the three official days of the Fair.

By the mid-seventeenth century the Fair had become one of the social events in the London calender. Samuel Pepys was glad to see it despite (or because of) its lewdness.²² Ned Ward in his London Spy of 1699 gave a good description of a day at the Fair. He sat on a balcony and watched

"the innumerable throng . . . ancle deep into filth and nastiness - The first objects . . . were the quality of the fair strutting round their balconies in their tinsey robes, and golden leather buckskins, expressing such pride in the buffonery stateliness, . . . looking with great

contempt from their slit deal thrones; upon
the admiring mobility gazing in the dirt at
our ostentatious heroes . . . "23

St. Bartholomew's looked at its best during this time.

One writer described how "Long Lane . . . looks very faire, and
puts out her best cloaths . . . ".²⁴ By this time it had lost
much of its importance as a cloth fair and was much more a place
of entertainment. It was a place of games and sideshows - many
of which were described in pamphlets.

"Next door to the Golden Hart . . . is to be
seen the admirable work of nature, a woman
having three breasts, . . . "

"A prodigious monster lately brought over by
Sir Thomas Grantham, from the Great Moguls
Country, being a man with one head and two
distinct bodies, both masculine . . . "

" . . . a tall English-man Eight Foot High but
Seventeen Years of Age."25

Unfortunately the Fair had also become a place for loose
living. Indeed the Fair was more renowned for its whores and
criminals than for the other aspects of its entertainment. Some
of this had official backing. The governors of St. Bartholomew's
Hospital allowed prostitutes to walk in the cloisters with the
result that at

"St. Bartholomew's hospitall . . . many a
handsome wench exchanges her maidenhead for
a small favour as a moiety of bone-lace, a
slight silver bodkin . . . ".²⁶

Many attempts were made to reduce the length of the fair to three
days but all failed. As part of the campaign pamphlets were
produced describing the events that took place. One writer was
greatly disturbed about one booth in which was

"exposed to publick view, a large Book of Coloured Figures and Postures of the utmost obscenity . . . Rome itself would blush at it . . . One minutes view of this consummate piece of imprudence by young and sanguine people, were enough to undo them".²⁷

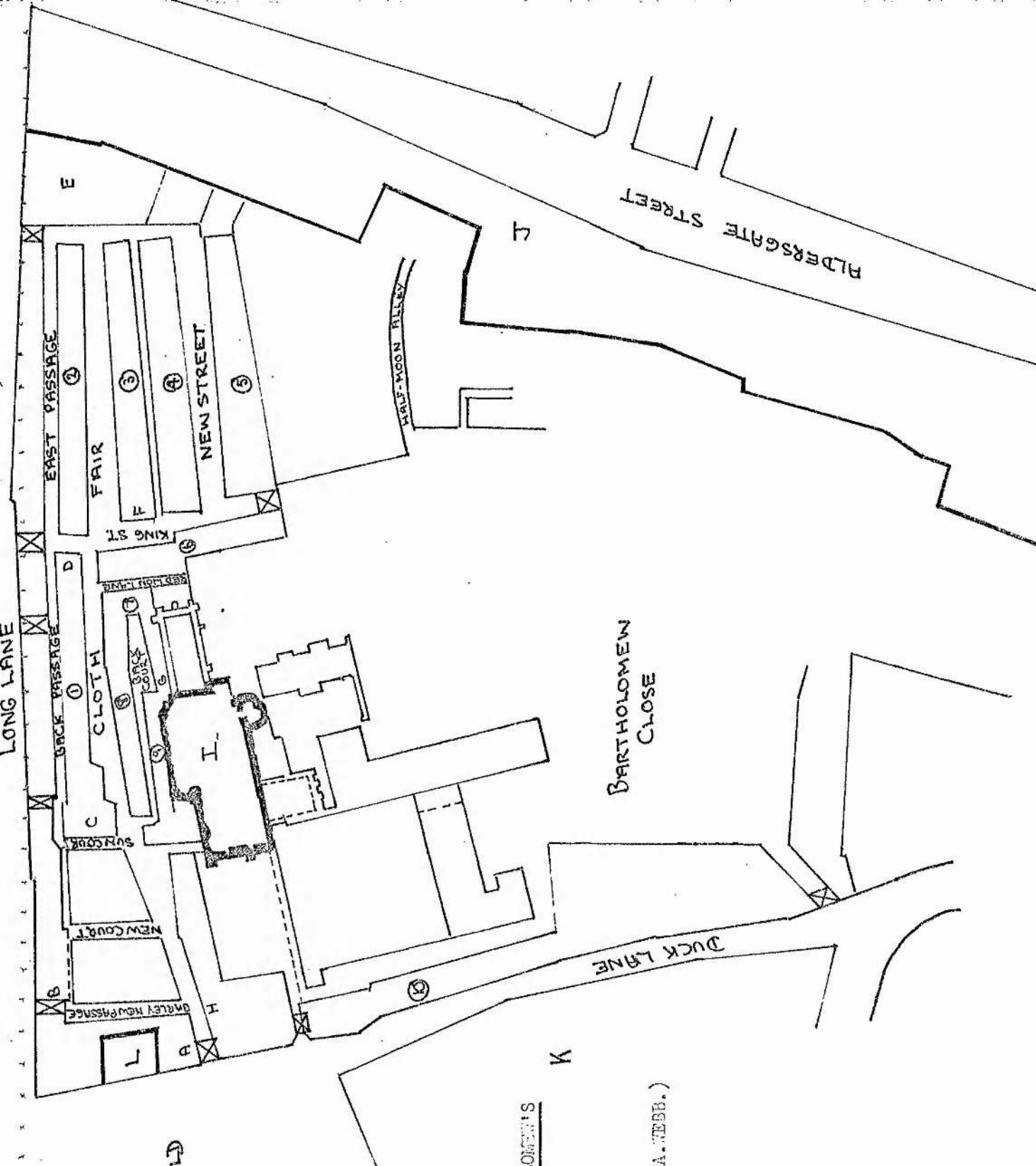
Another writer lamented that "instead of Reformation, Old Iniquity has Triumphed Once more in a Fortnights Carnival of Debauchery".²⁸

Though the pamphlets were attacking the Fair many appear to be only 'covers' for publishing pornographic material. One example goes into extraordinary detail about the whores' art, describing the many perversions of the clients such as one who "brought rods in his pockets for that purpose will needs be whip't to raise lechery . . .".²⁹ This particular pamphlet also published the names and addresses of the whores and seems much more like a 'directory' than the publication of an 'anti-pornography' supporter.³⁰

The large number of people present, the displays and the large number of public houses naturally created problems of law and order. This was the responsibility of the Court of Pie Powder and it had a reasonable reputation for success.³¹ In 1708 over eighty persons were apprehended for acts of lewdness, disorder and debauchery.³² By the late seventeenth century, though the Fair undoubtedly greatly profited the inhabitants of the parish it also brought serious problems. This situation was not new and had refelcted in song as early as 1614.

"Room for company
Here come good fellows
Room for company
In Bartholomew Fair

Cut purses and Cheaters
And bawdy-house door keepers
Room for Company
In Bartholomew Fair
Punks, ay, and panders
And cashiered commanders
Room for Company
Ill may they fare."³³



MAP 1.

THE PARISH OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S

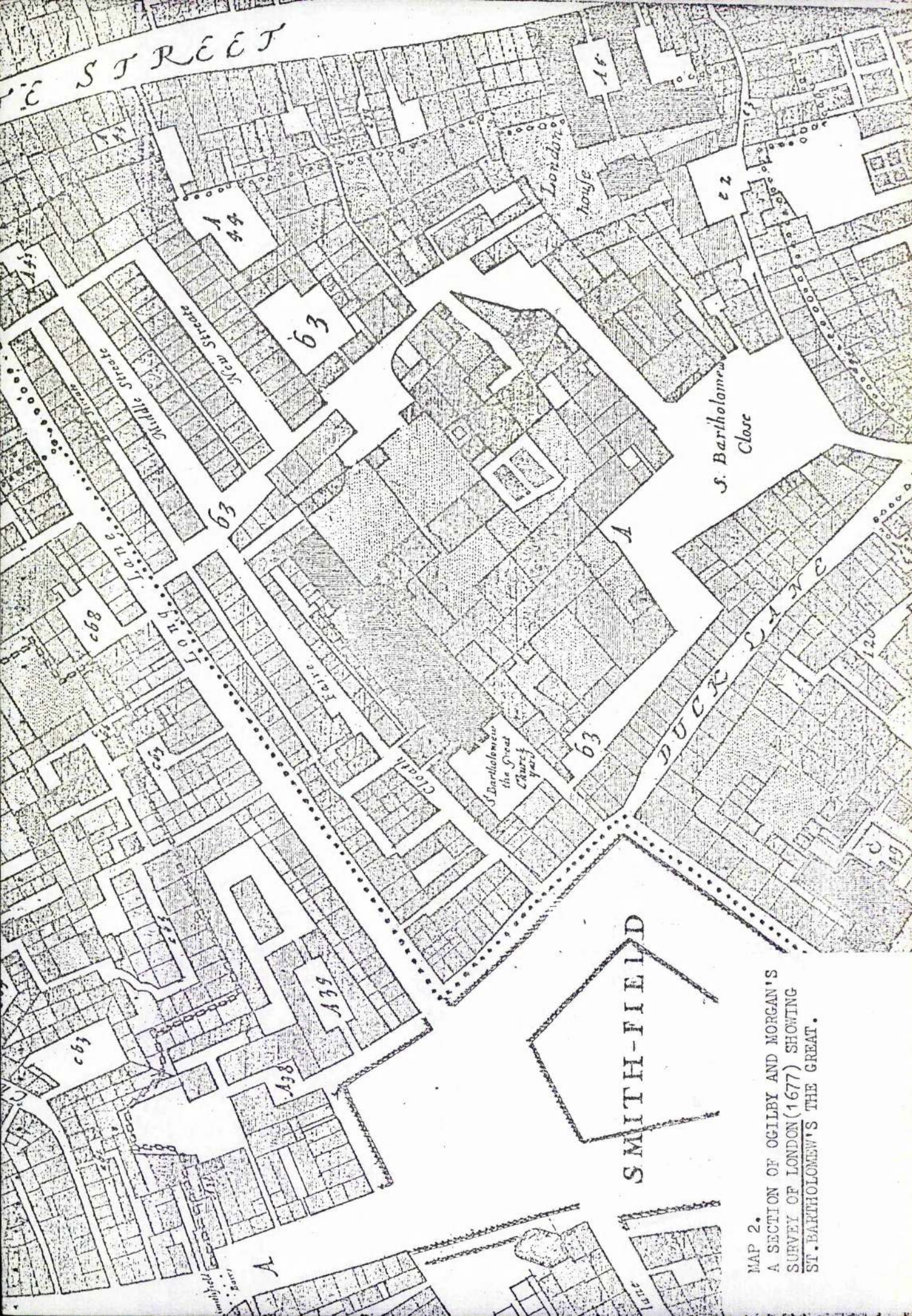
THE GREAT IN THE EARLY

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

(Based on the work of E.A. WEBB.)

MAP 1. ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S THE GREAT.

- | | |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1. LONGVIEWED HOUSE ROW. | A. THE ROAR'S HEAD. |
| 2. KELSEWATES ROW. | P. THE PARLEY ROW. |
| 3. COURT HOUSE ROW. | C. THE STAR TAVERN. |
| 4. KENTISH ROW. | D. THE RED LION. |
| 5. RUGGANS ROW. | E. THE GREEN DRAGON. |
| 6. CLOSE GABLE ROW. | F. COURT HOUSE. |
| 7. HARTS HORNE ROW. | G. ALD'S HOUSES. |
| 8. NEWMANS ROW. | H. THE HORSELY TER. |
| 9. OLD GALLERY. | I. ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S THE GREAT CHURCH. |
| 10. CHURCH ROW. | J. THE PARISH OF ST. BOTOLPH'S. |
| | K. THE PARISH OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S THE LESS. |
| | L. THE PARISH OF ST. SEPULCHERS |



MAP 2.
A SECTION OF OGILBY AND MORGAN'S
SURVEY OF LONDON (1677) SHOWING
ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S THE GREAT.

(ii) ECONOMIC STRUCTURES

A) Crafts and Occupations

For all its fame, Bartholomew Fair was a short annual interlude in the life of the parish. For the remainder of the year the parishioners were concerned with the less glamorous and more reputable economic activities and it is to the structure of the economy that we must now turn.

London, like the majority of towns, possessed a well-developed Guild system. As elsewhere, these had developed from semi-religious origins into influential economic and political institutions.³⁴ The Guilds were expected to regulate standards, wages and prices while insisting that those who practised a trade should be free of the City. They also possessed a considerable political voice. The city's freemen elected the Aldermen and Court of Common Council, while the Court of Common Hall was composed of the liverymen (the senior Guild members). While controlling their members, the Guilds were also expected to help them when in trouble. Overall, the Guilds in London were supposed to perform the same functions that the Incorporations in Edinburgh were still carrying out at the end of the seventeenth century.

It is debatable, however, whether the London Guilds were enjoying the same success by the end of the century. The sheer size of the capital made it difficult for their officers to exercise control and to carry out adequate searches.³⁵ The minutes of the Lord Mayor's Court show an increasing unwillingness among craftsmen to 'take up the livery' and perform the

offices of the Guilds.³⁶ This was mainly due to the expense and time involved. Gradually, therefore, the Guilds were losing control of the economic infrastructure in the nation's capital.

This would not have greatly affected life in St. Bartholomew's the Great as the Guilds had never exercised authority in the parish.³⁷ The monastical liberties had always been outside the control of the capital's authorities. Though the City was to gain judicial control over the liberty in 1608, the Guilds were never to achieve similar success.³⁸ This meant that the inhabitants of St. Bartholomew's were able to engage in trade without becoming free of the city or joining the relevant Guild. Undoubtably some traders did join for the prestige and material benefits connected with membership, but the cost would have persuaded many not to enrol. Not surprisingly, this privilege led to friction with the City authorities who disliked the existence of an independent entry within their bounds. The authorities were careful to insure that the parish did not extend its boundaries lest more citizens benefited from its economic freedom. In some ways the relationship between St. Bartholomew's the Great and the City of London was similar to that enjoyed by the Canongate and Edinburgh. In each case a more powerful neighbour was jealous of a small but partly independent parish yet unable to alter the situation.

Once a year a few of the Guilds were able to exercise a little authority over events in the parish. At the beginning of the Bartholomew Fair, the Merchant Tailors and the Drapers were charged with searching the fair. Both paraded round the stalls

with a silver yardstick to insure that the traders had honest measures.³⁹ In addition the Drapers could fine members of their Company who traded at the fair for more than three days. Apart from this the Guilds could only stand aside and watch events.

The ineffectiveness of the Guilds in the parish has one major drawback for researchers in that it increases the difficulties involved in bringing to light the occupations of the inhabitants. There is little to be gained from checking the Guild records for occupations when the inhabitants did not have to enrol. The problem is only increased by the fact that many of the Guild records did not list the parish of residence.⁴⁰ In the Canongate most of the information on occupations came from the various tax rolls, especially the 1694 Poll Tax. In the case of St. Bartholomew's, none of the tax rolls systematically recorded this type of information. The parish registers are equally uninformative in this regard. With no major source available it is only possible to pick up snippets from various records - wills, vestry minutes, court records and the tax rolls. The results are shown in Table 3.

Though the percentages of the various groups have been recorded no reliance can be placed in the results. The list was not composed on a statistical basis but on the accident of survival. The table merely illustrates the variety of occupations pursued in the parish. Certain conclusions however can be drawn from the results. As in the Canongate, the parish appears to have been dominated by those occupations which were traditionally subject to guild organisation. Ignoring the

	Number	%		Number	%		Number	%
CLOTHING								
Tailors	9		FOOD			Gentlemen	22	
Drapers	11		Innkeepers	6		Attourneys	4	
Merchant Tailor	1		Coffee Sellers	10		Merchant Salter	1	
Habdasher	3		Tobacco	2		School Master	1	
Weaver	1		Baker	3		Salesman	3	
Mercer	3		Victualler	1		Broker	1	
Button Seller	2		Millwright	1		Minister	7	
Hatmaker	1		Cook	1		Merchant	24	
Glover	2			24	3.6		44	6.6
Cordiner	2							
	34	5.1	BUILDING			SERVANTS		
			Carpenter	4		Male	187	
HAMMERMEN			Glazier	3		Female	289	
Engraver	1		Chandler	1		Apprentices	17	
Blacksmith	2		Plasterer	1			493	74.0
Brazier	1		Joiner	4				
Cooper	1		Plummer	1		MISCELLANEOUS		
Turner	1		Bricklayer	1				
Founder	1			15	2.2	Soldiers	9	
Goldsmith	1					Clerks	6	
Watchsmith	1		MEDICAL			Bellhanger	1	
Armourer	1		Doctor	2		Watchman	1	
	10	1.5	Surgeon	3		Porter	1	
			Nurse	1		Chapman	1	
						Seaman	2	
PRINTING					0.9	Player	1	
Stationer	2		LEATHER			Scower	1	
Printer	6		Upholsterer	4		Coachman	1	
Bookseller	1		Leather Dresser	1		Navigator	1	
Bookbinder	2			5	0.7		25	3.7
	11	1.6				TOTAL	667	

Table 3 A Survey of Recorded Occupations in St. Bartholomew's the Great, 1685-1695

servants these formed 56% of the recorded occupations (compared with 44.67% in the Canongate). The relative importance of the various trades was, of course, different. The cloth industry appears to have been much more important - hardly surprising as the Fair dealt primarily in cloth. Metal working and construction were both present as would be expected in an urban parish. Overall, the range of crafts in the two parishes was similar - with two major exceptions. The new fashion of coffee-drinking is easily discerned in St. Bartholomew's through the relatively large number of people involved in the marketing of coffee.⁴¹ This fashion had obviously not yet reached the "barbarous north" as no retailers were recorded in the Canongate.

The other major difference was the presence of the book and printing industry. Indeed the parish had a considerable reputation in this field. The trade was mostly concentrated around Duck Lane which was often visited by Samuel Pepys whose diary records eighteen visits in search of books.⁴² Among the printers was Thomas Roycroft who was described by Charles II as

"the sole master printer in printing that great work [Dr. Edmund Castell's *Heptaglot Lexicon*] and whose abilities in printing the Oriental languages was above any other printer in the kingdom".⁴³

His son was also a printer and a member of the vestry during the period of this study.

St. Bartholomew's had the same basic grouping of occupations as the Canongate - Middlemen, Professional, Crafts, non-Craft and Administrative. Unfortunately it is not possible to compare their

relative importance. However there is one occupation which can be studied in more detail. The layout of the tax rolls enables a reliable estimate to be made of the number of servants in the community - 476. Given the size of the parish they obviously constituted a major employment group, though lack of information precludes an exact measure of its relative importance. There was an average of 1.78 servants per house which was higher than the 1.43 servants found by Glass in a sample of 40 London parishes.⁴⁴ The term servant is really a 'catch all' for several occupations including journeymen and apprentices. The female servants outnumbered the male (61% to 39%) and this gap would have been greater if it was possible to isolate the journeymen. This reflected the fact that service was one of the few occupations open to women before marriage and might further suggest the existence of an unbalanced sex ratio in the parish. This section of the population was very volatile and included many girls who had migrated from the country for short periods.⁴⁵

With so little information available it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions about the occupational structure in the parish. It does not appear to have been too dissimilar to the Canongate though the emphasis on types of trade was different. As in the Canongate there was a small core of luxury crafts such as watch-making, goldsmiths and printing. However, the parish's prosperity would have depended more on the traditional trades such as cloth and building. These were skills which the large market of London would always demand and the foundations of the parish's wealth were probably more

secure than was the case in the Canongate.

B) Wealth

As with the Canongate there are few direct measures which can be used to gauge the level of wealth of the parish residents. Wills and inventories are the most accurate sources but though they survive in greater numbers than was the case in the Canongate, they are still not common. The surviving sources involve only those who possessed wealth over a certain level. The parish poor were either excluded (as in the poll tax) or not wealthy enough to go to the trouble and expense of drawing up a detailed will. The poor were recorded in the Marriage Tax as no one was exempted from death duties - the church paying for those who could not afford to. However, it would be naive to believe that some did not escape.

The Hearth Tax had been abolished in England in 1689 much to the delight of the tax payers -

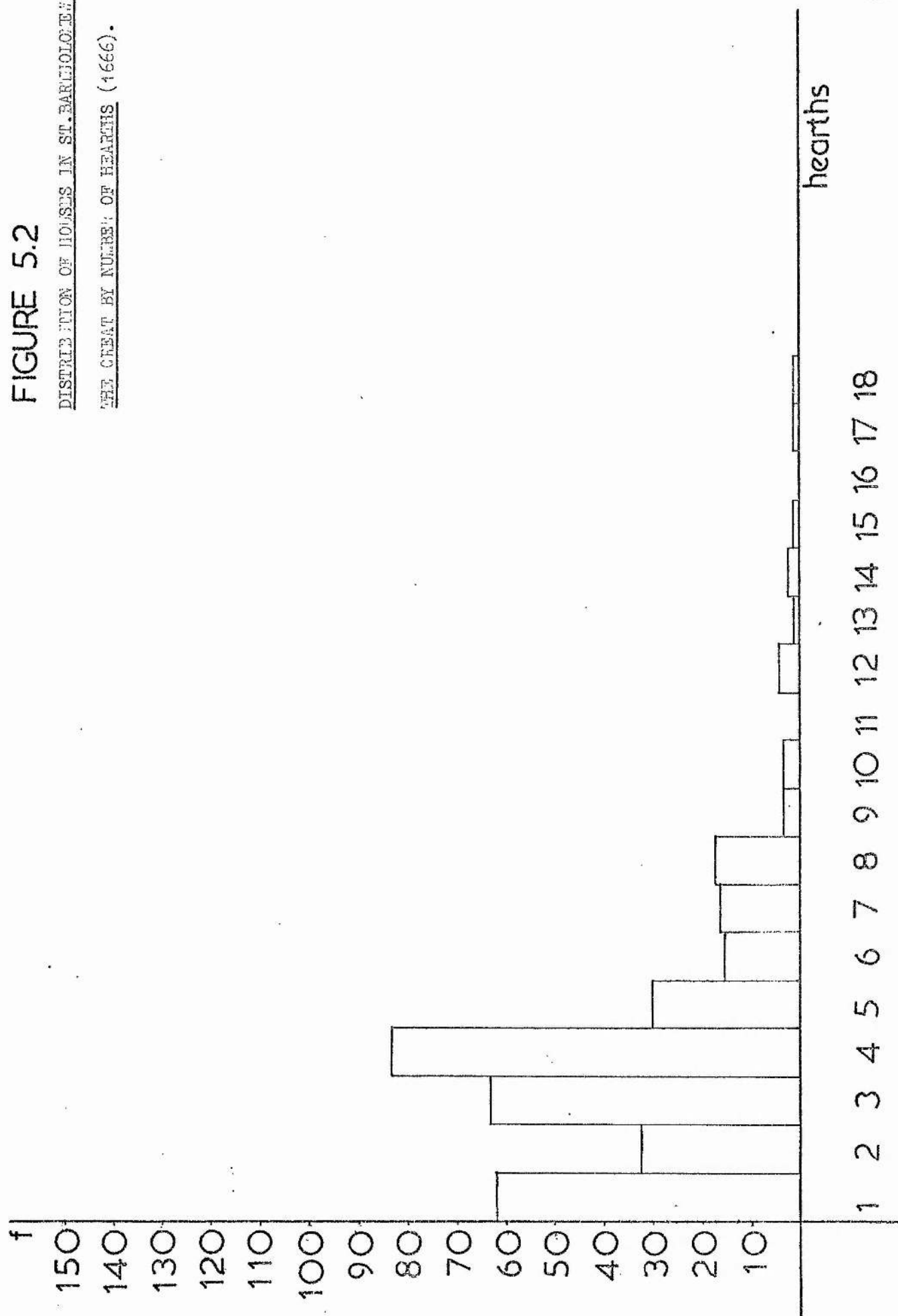
"in itself not only a great oppression to the poorer sort but a badge of slavery upon the whole people, exposing every mans house to be entered into and searched by persons unknown to him".⁴⁶

Fortunately the 1666 listing for the parish survives and is a useful surrogate measure of wealth (Table 4 and Figure 2).⁴⁷

The average number of hearths was much higher than in the Canongate which suggests a higher level of wealth. This comparison is not completely accurate as we know that the residences in the Canongate were flats not terraced houses as they were in St. Bartholomew's.⁴⁸ The Hearth Tax also records

FIGURE 5.2

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSES IN ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S
THE GREAT BY NUMBER OF HEARTHES (1666).



the number of "Poor" households. Including the alms houses there were forty-three exempted households. This was 12.8% of the parish - a very high total which suggests that the parish was not as wealthy as it appeared at first sight. A better indication of wealth would be gained from rent sizes or details on how the houses were furnished, but unfortunately details on these do not survive for the period.

Precinct Hearths	Bartholomew Close	Cloth Fair	Long Lane	Total	Percentage
1	9	49	4	62	18.4
2	9	14	9	32	9.5
3-4	19	101	26	146	43.3
5-10	50	19	18	87	25.8
11-15	8	-	-	8	2.4
16 or over	2	-	-	2	0.6
Total				337	100.0

Mode = 4 hearths

Table 4 Distribution of Houses by Number of Hearths
in St. Bartholomew's the Great (1666)

The Poll Tax (like the Marriage Tax) was designed to pay for William III's war with France. Both were similar to the Scottish Poll Tax in that the amount levied was graduated according to the wealth and status of the payee. More use has been made of the English tax rolls in general than is the case with the Scottish records.⁴⁹ The Poll Tax was paid quarterly at the rate of 1/= by everyone with the exception of the poor and children under 16.⁵⁰ Above this there were four

surtax groups paying up to £4. In St. Bartholomew's, Poll Taxes survive for 1690 and 1692/3.⁵¹

	1690		D.V. Glass 1692	1692/3	
	Number	%	%	Number	%
Basic	275	83.8	83.4	252	77.5
£300 or over	31	9.5	10.1	52	16.0
Gentlemen, Clergy, Merchants, etc.	11	3.4	6.5	19	5.8
Rich Clergy	5	1.5	0.0	1	0.3
Lords temporal and spiritual	6	1.8	0.0	1	0.3
	328	100.0	100.0	325	100.0

Table 5 1690 and 1692 Poll Taxes by Category

When the results are compared with the work carried out by D.V. Glass, the parish appears slightly wealthier than the norm for London.⁵² However in the Canongate the concentration is at the lower end of the scale. St. Bartholomew's had fewer taxpayers in the top surtax brackets than the Canongate but that reflected more the political tradition of the Canongate than the poverty of St. Bartholomew's. Servants were excluded as their wages merely reflected the wealth of their masters. Both St. Bartholomew's rolls appear to cover the entire parish as their totals agree with each other and with the estimated number of houses in the parish.⁵³

The Marriage Tax was collected for the first time in 1695.

In theory this should have been the most detailed roll as no one was totally exempt.⁵⁴ It is a useful tax to employ in London as it survives for ninety-three of the city's parishes. Unlike the Poll Tax which was collected on a ward basis, the Marriage Tax was collected by parish. Elsewhere this would lead to difficulties but as St. Bartholomew's did not belong to a ward no problems arise in this case. (see Table 6).

When compared to Glass' sample parishes St. Bartholomew's comes out rather badly with only 8% of the population paying surtax compared with 15%.⁵⁵ This could be caused by falling wealth but a more likely reason is that the surtax brackets were higher in the Marriage Tax than in the Poll Tax - £600 per annum against £300. The parish also seems to have had a lower than average number of the gentry and aristocracy.

The results illustrated so far can only be estimates as wealth was not being directly measured. The best sources for exact details were the wills and inventories.⁵⁶ Though there are over one hundred surviving wills the majority are of little use, being printed standard forms where the testator had only to fill in the names and dates. Though several partial inventories remain there are only eight complete examples.⁵⁷ All of these belonged to craftsmen, mostly drapers (see Table 7). The majority were wealthy with the exception of John Gibbons who was worth only £18. All had well furnished residences as the value of their furnishings illustrates. A large proportion of their wealth was kept as a stock of goods. Thomas Harlowe had £150 worth - five times the value of his furniture.⁵⁸ The

	Rate	Number	Percentage	Glass (12 parishes) Number	Glass Percentage
Basic	4/=	341	91.7]]
£600 estate	24/=	19	5.0]]
Doctors of Divinity, etc.	104/=	2	0.5		
Gentlemen and Esquires	24/= - 104/=	9	2.5	38	2.4
Knights Batchelors	204/=	1	0.3	206	8.7
Others		-	-	34	2.2
				30	1.9
		372	100.0	1579	100.0

Table 6 Marriage Tax Categories in St. Bartholomew's the Great

Compared with Twelve Sample Parishes (Glass)

remaining wills while not so detailed reflect a reasonably high standard of living - Charles Bainbridge was able to leave his kinswoman £10 and the rest to his wife.⁵⁹ Many testators left all their relatives some token of remembrance - Barbara Doncaster remembered 25 people in her will plus the parish poor.⁶⁰

Name	Occupation	Value	Furnishings
Thomas Harlowe	Draper	£622.15. 3	£28.17. 2
William Briggins		376. 8. 0	41. 8. 0
Percival Golding	Button Maker	482.12. 7	33.10. 2
Thomas Scott	Draper	700. 9. 4	48. 8. 0
William Whittington	Draper	807.17. 9	75. 8. 6
John Gibbons	Draper	18. 2. 6	10.13. 0
Thomas Shackelton	Draper	460. 7. 9	35. 2. 6
Catherin Cunningham		120. 9. 0	49.11. 0

Table 7 Testators leaving Complete Inventories, 1685-1695

Not everyone allowed their wealth to lie idle. Seven testators owned land in the country and another owned a part share of a ship.⁶¹ It is difficult to know whether they had recently moved to the city or were citizens investing in safe land. As in the Canongate credit played an important role in the economic lives of the parishioners. The Londoners appear to have been more realistic as they classified their debts as either "good" or "desperate". Unfortunately, only the totals were recorded so it is impossible to trace the network of credit that must have existed before the birth of the banking system.

The wills present the general impression of comparative wealth. Certainly the inventories were of a higher value than those in the Canongate. When comparing wealth in the two parishes it is important to convert pounds Scots into pounds Sterling. At this time an English pound was worth approximately twelve Scottish pounds. England was a wealthier country than Scotland and it appears that a prosperous Londoner was much wealthier than his Scottish equivalent. The percentage of the population paying surtax was not as large as that in the Canongate. This was merely reflecting the fact that the Canongate had attracted more substantial people because of its proximity to the heart of Scottish affairs. Overall the St. Bartholomew tax rolls suggest that the parish was slightly above the average for London in the prosperity of its population. The tax rolls, like the wills, look only at the upper section of the economic pyramid. Nothing was recorded about the poor partly because, as one contemporary put it "their province [was] more properly to labour and fight, than pay".⁶² Their numbers would need to be estimated before the wealth of the parish could be properly understood. Various estimates have been made about the number of paupers relative to the size of the community and will be presented below but they are only guidelines. The tax rolls indicate that the majority of people did pay taxes which suggests that the parish was not poor. That St. Bartholomew's was of the middling sort is further supported by the fact that it was one of the few parishes which neither subsidised another nor was itself subsidised.⁶³

(iii) DEMOGRAPHYA) Population Size

Bartholomew Fair drew many visitors to the parish for its brief annual duration, but what of the more permanent inhabitants of the parish? The sources available for estimating population in St. Bartholomew's are similar to those used in Edinburgh - parish registers, tax rolls, and poor rate rolls. Generally the English parish registers (beginning in 1538) have a better reputation than those surviving in Scotland.⁶⁴ English historical demographers have recognised that this was not always the case in urban areas, however, where the large size of populations worked against a system of efficient record keeping. The survival of records for London is quite good and the registers of baptisms, marriages and burials are complete for St. Bartholomew's over this period.⁶⁵ Legislation was passed in connection with the marriage tax which demanded that parish registers should be efficiently kept, however there is some doubt as to whether they were.⁶⁶ The same tests as were applied to the Canongate registers were also carried out on those for St. Bartholomew's.⁶⁷ The only difficulty encountered was the presence of a large non-conformist community in the parish. However, they appear to have used the services of the church for both burials and baptisms. The register of baptisms also listed still births which is commonly an indication that registers were very well kept.⁶⁸

To a degree the parish was in a world of its own, cut

off from the rest of London by the eight gates. This may have meant that the parishioners were more insular and used only their own church - thus easing the task of future demographers - but is on the whole unlikely.⁶⁹ As in the Canongate pregnant women tried to escape the attention of the authorities by giving birth in a strange parish. In 1698 the churchwarden "sent a big bellied woman away in a coach that was late in the parish".⁷⁰ With so many churches in the vicinity parishioners may well have gone elsewhere, especially for weddings. Certainly St. Bartholomew's the Great was used regularly by couples from outwith the parish and there is no reason to suppose that such traffic was not reciprocal.⁷¹

As with the Canongate several methods can be used to estimate the size of the population. The work of earlier demographers plus estimates based on the tax rolls can all be utilised.⁷² To begin with estimates based on parish register material, the burial and baptism ratios of Graunt are used in conjunction with the parish registers.⁷³ To a degree these should be more accurate for St. Bartholomew's as the same sources are being used for the same city as those used by the earlier demographers. The results can be compared with the work of P.E. Jones and A.V. Judges who calculated their own estimates in the 1930's and Michael Power who undertook a study of east London.⁷⁴ The normal difficulties in estimating the accuracy of the registers exist and the advice of J.T. Krause has again been followed in allowing an additional 10% for baptisms and

5% for burials, though it is possible that the small size of the parish (both geographically and demographically) may have insured that the registers were reasonably accurate.⁷⁵

Unlike the Canongate it is also possible to use the burial registers in estimating population size.

The baptism estimates are remarkably similar and suggest a population of around 1,700 to 2,000 souls. However the burial estimates are much more varied. As this is due to the differences between burial rates it is possible that death rates varied between parishes to a greater degree than was true for baptisms. For example, Michael Power's high burial rate was based on his work on the east of London, which with its poorer conditions may be inappropriate for St. Bartholomew's. To be able to place any reliance on these figures it is necessary to compare them with those derived from the tax rolls.

The tax rolls for this period cover the entire parish and thus avoid the problems raised by the Poll Tax in the Canongate. The Poll Taxes involved everyone with the exception of children under the age of 16 and those who did not pay the poor rate.⁷⁶ Rolls survive for 1690 and 1692/3. With the majority of tax listings the main difficulty is in deciding whether or not the exempted poor were listed and if not, just what percentage of the population they formed. For this reason the Marriage Tax is potentially the most useful to modern historians as, in theory, no one in the parish escaped its provisions. At its best "it provides for the first complete census (and no other was taken until 1801)".⁷⁷

Baptisms	Year	G. King 1:26½	J. Graunt 1:30	Jones & Judges 1:25	M. Power 33.7 per 1000
58	1685	1537	1740	1450	1721
74	1686	1961	2220	1850	2195
65	1687	1723	1950	1625	1929
66	1688	1749	1980	1650	1958
69	1689	1829	2070	1725	2047
50	1690	1325	1500	1250	1484
58	1691	1537	1740	1450	1721
57	1692	1511	1710	1425	1691
65	1693	1723	1950	1625	1929
53	1694	1405	1590	1325	1573
66	1695	1749	1980	1650	1958
Average		1641 + 10%	1857 + 10%	1548 + 10%	1837 + 10%
Average		1805	2043	1703	2021

Burials	Year	G. King 1:14	J. Graunt 1:32	Jones & Judges 1:22	M. Power 22.1 per 1000
73	1685	1092	2336	1606	3303
62	1686	874	1984	1364	2805
74	1687	1043	2368	1628	3348
66	1688	931	2112	1452	2986
51	1689	719	1632	1122	2308
37	1690	522	1184	814	1674
76	1691	1072	2432	1672	3439
74	1692	1043	2368	1628	3348
83	1693	1170	2656	1826	3756
89	1694	1255	2848	1958	4027
65	1695	917	2080	1430	2941
Average		966 + 5%	2182 + 5%	1500 + 5%	3085 + 5%
Average		1014	2291	1575	3239

Table 8 The Number of Baptisms and Burials in
St. Bartholomew's the Great plus Population
Estimates based on the work of King, Graunt,
Jones and Judges, and Power

Tax	Date	Numbers Listed
Poll	1690	1099
Poll	1692/3	975
Marriage	1695	1571

Table 9 Population Estimates based
on Surviving Tax Rolls

Table 9 illustrates the total population recorded by the tax rolls. It is immediately evident that the Marriage Tax was the largest. This is explained partly by the fact that it includes children under 16; but mainly by the inclusion of the resident poor. The accuracy of the Marriage Tax is confirmed when it is compared with the estimates based on baptisms and burials. It is very similar to the estimates based on the work of Jones and Judges. It seems likely therefore that St. Bartholomew's the Great had a population of between 1,500 and 1,800 souls. While considerably less than the total of the Canongate it is much closer to the size recommended by MacFarlane as a manageable unit of study.⁷⁸

	Number
Marriage Tax (1695)	1571
Jones & Judges Baptism Average	1548 - 1703
Burial Average	1500 - 1575
Baptisms (1695)	1650 - 1815
Burials (1695)	1430 - 1502

Table 10 The Marriage Tax Estimate compared with the
work of P.E. Jones and A.V. Judges

Assuming that the Marriage Tax was complete it can be used to calculate a Mean Housefull Size for the parish. This is carried out by dividing the population by the number of houses. The Mean Housefull Size (M.Hf.S) was 5.69 which compares with an estimate of 5.68 calculated by P. Laslett for the same parish.⁷⁹ Though Mr. Laslett claims that his figure was a Mean Household Size this slightly overstates the accuracy of the measure. The 'name blocks' he used to divide the population by still included groups which obviously included more than one married couple and therefore, probably more than one family.⁸⁰ That Mr. Laslett's figure was in fact an M.Hf.S. can be further demonstrated by the measure's similarity to the Houseful size of 5.66 calculated for the east of England 1751-1800.⁸¹ The result (5.86) is considerably higher than the M.H.S. calculated by Laslett for one hundred sample communities (mostly rural) of 4.75 - which further suggests a degree of subdivision in the houses.⁸² The result compares favourably with the work carried out by Michael Palliser in York where he calculated an M.Hf.S. of six persons.⁸³

The M.Hf.S. can be used in conjunction with the other tax rolls to gain several population estimates. Several tax rolls are available and the results are shown in Table 11.

R. Finlay's total was based on his calculation of houses in the parish from the Settlement of Tithes in 1638.⁸⁴ The Hearth Tax was the most recent complete roll surviving for the parish and as the high total suggests, it also listed the impotent poor.

Tax	Year	Number of Houses	Population Estimate
Finlay	1638	276	1570
Hearth Tax	1666	336	1912
Poll Tax	1690	265	1508
Poll Tax	1692/3	256	1457
Poor Rate	1696	256	1457
Window Tax	1696	217	1235
Average			1523

Table 11 Population Estimates based on the M. Hf. S.
and Various House Totals⁸⁵

The Poor Rate should have been approximately the same as the Poll Taxes as the latter was to be paid by those who also paid the former. The Window Tax was first raised in 1696 (7 & 8 Wm III C. 18) and was paid by all residents who paid church and poor rates. Its collection destroyed most of the good will created by the repeal of the Hearth Tax.⁸⁶ Resistance to payment may account for the small number of houses recorded. Overall the totals are remarkably similar to those obtained from the baptisms and burials. This reflects the fact that the burial and baptism ratios were based on London and it would be expected that they would produce a more accurate picture there than in Edinburgh. With the exception of the Marriage Tax (and possibly the Hearth Tax), none of the rolls included the resident impotent poor of the parish. The work of P. Slack suggests that a minimum of 5% of the population would

FIGURE 5.3

FIVE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES OF BURIALS, BAPTISMS AND
MARRIAGES IN ST. PANTHOLOME, 18 THE GR. 1685-1695.

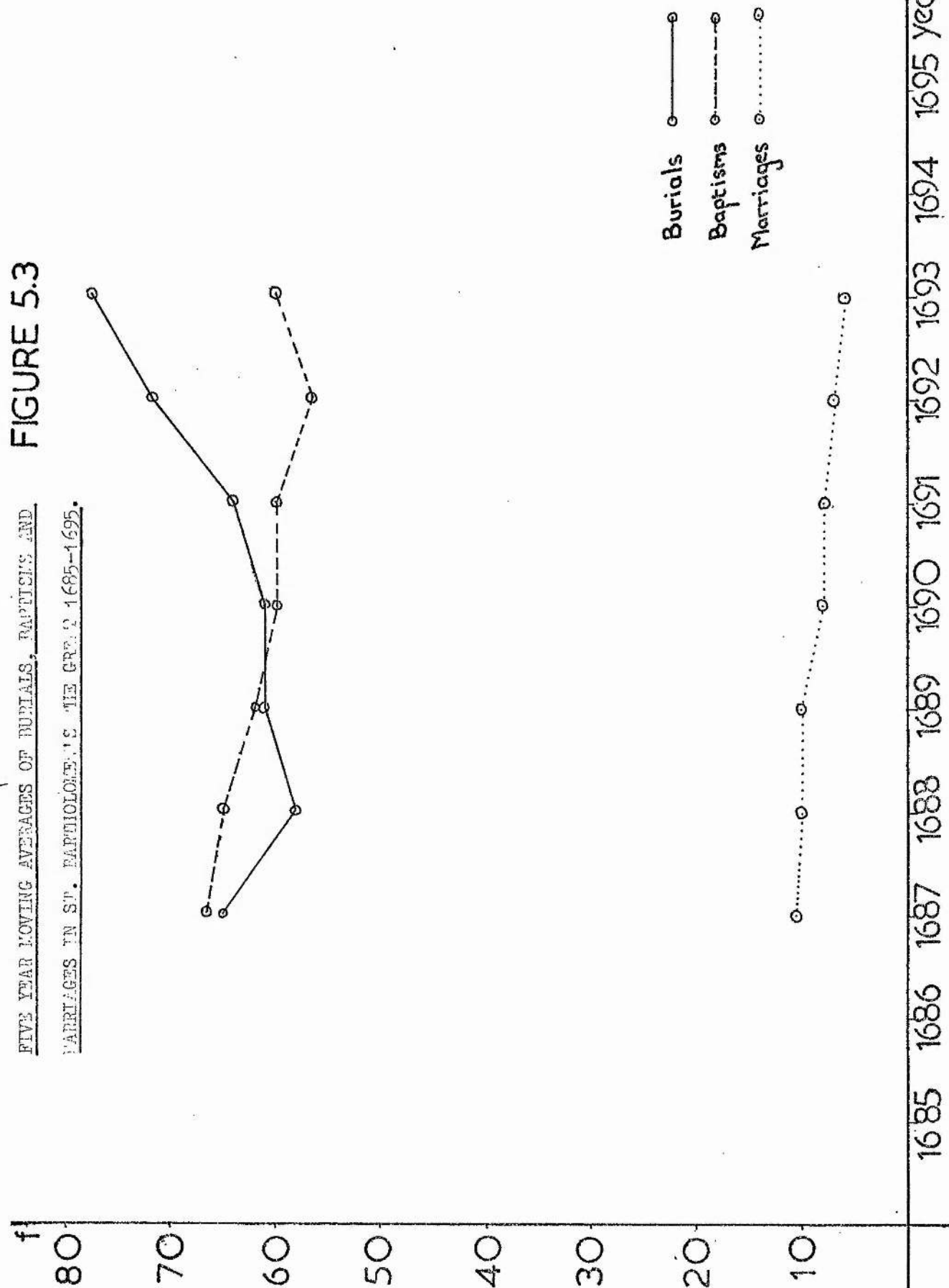
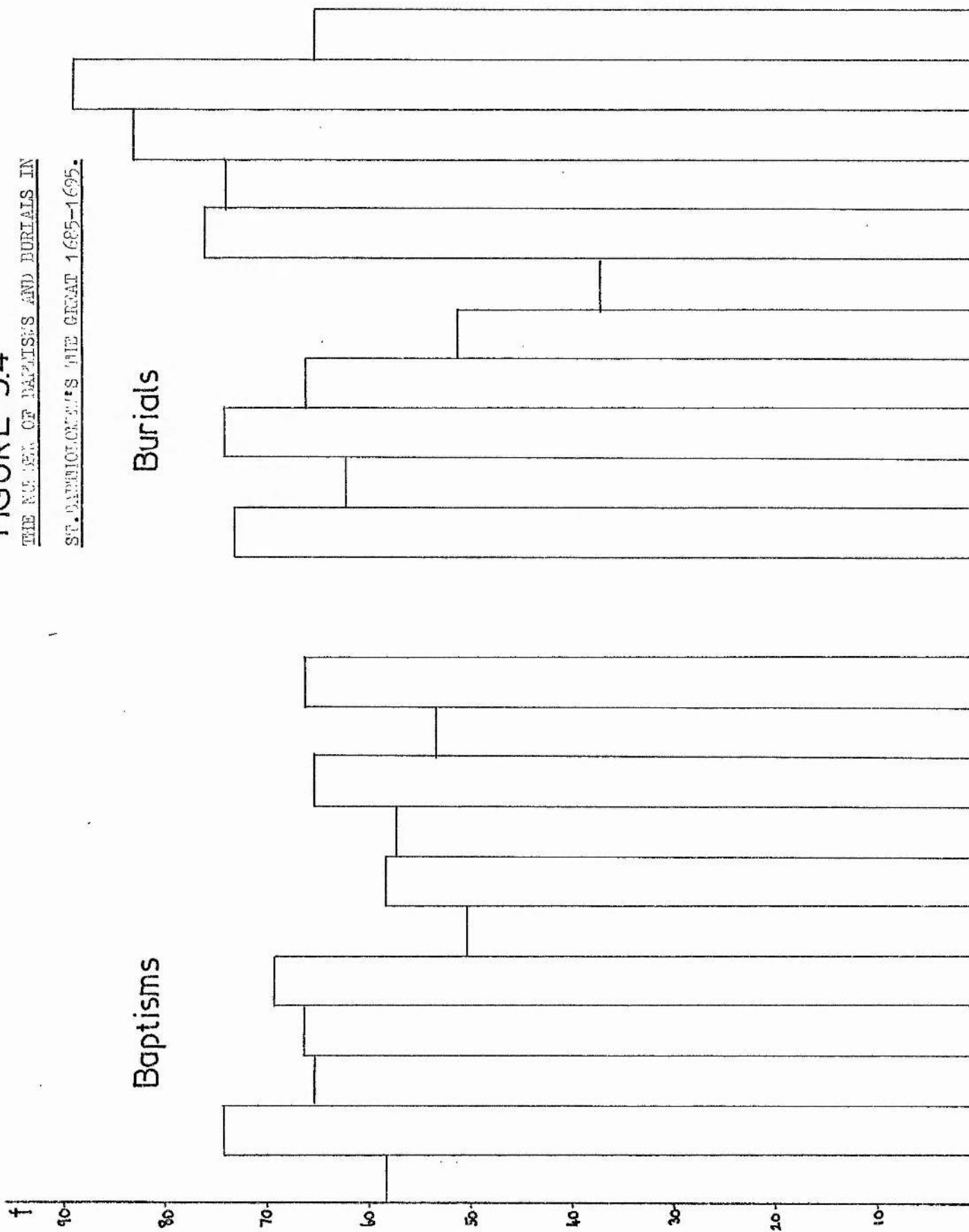


FIGURE 5.4

THE NUMBER OF BAPTISMS AND BURIALS IN

ST. PAMPHILOUS'S THE GREAT 1685-1695.



be impotent poor.⁸⁷ In St. Bartholomew's this would give a total of between 79 (Marriage Tax) and 104 (Graunts burial estimate) in 1695. While this was considerably less than the number in the Canongate it should be remembered that the London parish was smaller.

The population of St. Bartholomew's the Great appears to have been remarkably stable over time though there may have been a slight decline. If the number of burials and baptisms are studied over time the results suggest that the parish had entered a period of natural decline. Figure 3 shows that in 1689 the number of burials again outnumbered the number of baptisms after a short period of surplus (see also Figure 4 and Tables A - C). The trend of baptisms was downward while that of burials was on the rise. At the same time the number of marriages was also in decline (no doubt in part explaining the fall in baptisms). There was nothing unusual or sinister in this as it was normal for burials to outnumber baptisms in London.⁸⁸ To maintain a steady population, let alone increase it, London had to rely on large scale immigration. Though the fact that the parish population was roughly stable at a time of increasing population illustrates that the majority of immigrants concentrated in the poorer suburbs such as Power's East London parishes.

B) Immigration

London's rate of growth in the later seventeenth century required that after allowing for deaths and emigrants, an extra

8,000 people entered the city every year. To a large degree the motives of the immigrants were the same as those of the new residents in the Canongate - subsistence and betterment.⁸⁹

London was the largest market in Britain if not in Europe. It attracted many who were interested in improving their lot. The capital was "the hub of . . . [the] economic universe".⁹⁰

Though the Guilds attempted to limit entry into trades, the city was too large for their efforts to be successful. To the poor the streets of London were reputed to be paved with gold and all knew the story of Dick Whittington. London had other attractions for the rural population - political intrigue, Court life, the legal courts, education and entertainment.⁹¹

It was also to London that the vast majority of foreigners came, either in flight from their own country or on the coat-tails of William III.

How many of these would have been attracted to St. Bartholomew's was a different matter. The parish was not wealthy enough to attract the successful or rich though this probably did not deter the poverty stricken elements. One limitation would have been the small size of the parish which made new development difficult. The attraction of the parish to the poor would have depended largely on the reputation of the poor law officials and on the employment opportunities. While there was a compulsory poor rate, the size and wealth of the parish would have precluded the spending of large amounts on strangers.

Several sources are available for the investigation of migration - parish accounts, parish registers and wills. The

parish accounts are difficult to use as it is often impossible to know if a recipient of relief was a resident or a stranger.⁹² As in the Canongate it has been assumed that where a recipient's name was known then he (or she) was a resident. Thus it was assumed that Mrs. Channel who was given 1/= in July 1685 was a resident while the poor woman who could not afford to have her child christened was a stranger.

	London	England	British Isles	Else- where	Not known
1685-86	1	4	7 + 6 children	3	9
1693-94			1 + 1 child		6
1694-95			1		20 (inc. 15 soldiers)
1697-98	2	4			72 + 12 children (inc 17 soldiers + 14 seamen)
	3	8	16	3	119

Total = 149

Table 12 Frequency of Strangers in the Parish Accounts

Despite the poor quality of the accounts there was clearly a considerable movement of strangers through the parish. Yet the strangers who received aid were only a minority of those in the parish. Many others would have not possessed documents from

the Lord Mayor or other parishes with which to claim relief. Towards the end of the decade many of this group were sailors or soldiers either injured or paid off after the Peace of Ryswick (1697). The majority of this group would have passed through quickly on their way home.

The importance of London as port, capital and market place is illustrated by the number and origins of foreigners. Surprisingly the variety was not so great as in the Canongate - presumably because they were less concentrated in London and St. Bartholomew's had fewer attractions. The 'homelands' in the various sources included Holland, America, Ireland, Scotland and France. The burden created by the increase in the number of poor strangers after 1695 would have put extra strain on the system of relief.

It is impossible to know if the flow of poverty through the parish was counter-balanced by a movement of skilled or prosperous craftsmen into the parish. As the trades did not need to belong to Guilds it was unlikely that many went to the expense of joining and thus migrants cannot be traced through this type of record. The migration of more prosperous persons may be recorded in the marriage register.⁹³ It was common, especially in London, for people to marry partners from another parish. If there were further references after a marriage involving at least one stranger it has been assumed that they settled in the parish. As Samuel Motteram from St. Giles was married in March 1687 and had a child baptised in the parish in 1688 it is assumed he settled there. The church of

St. Bartholomew's the Great appears to have been popular with couples from outside the parish, unfortunately this attraction did not extend to residing there.

"24th December 1695 Richard Bigg of Kings
Walden Herts. married Francis Lister of
Oldford Herts."

	No Later Record	Later Record
Male	15	1
Female	1	3
Both	54	0
	71	4

Table 13 The Number of Strangers Marrying
in St. Bartholomew's who also Resided there

The results would seem to suggest that there was no great inflow of 'new blood' into the parish. This is hardly surprising as the majority of strangers were male and would have preferred to live where their economic roots were already planted.

To a degree the other parish registers can also be used to learn more about the influence of migration. The burial registers infrequently listed the home of strangers who died in the parish.⁹⁴ There were not many over the eleven years and the majority (66%) were merely from other London parishes (Table 14).

London	England	British Isles	Elsewhere	Not Known
8	2	-	1	1

Table 14 Place of Origin of Known Strangers who
Died in St. Bartholomew's the Great

The more substantial type of migrant can sometimes be traced through the surviving wills.⁹⁵ It was common for comparatively wealthy people to leave money for the poor in their parish of origin, such as Hugh Bantock who left £5 for the poor of West Ham in Essex.⁹⁶ This sentiment was echoed by Thomas Bickerstaff who remembered Towcester

"for the good will kindness and respect that
I have [for] the said towne . . . being the
place of my nativity".⁹⁷

London	England	British Isles	Elsewhere	Not Known
1	5	-	-	1

Table 15 Place of Origin of Known Migrants
Discovered from the Evidence of Wills

Overall the records do not indicate that the more prosperous type of person was entering the parish. This was unfortunate as there can be little doubt that the number of poor strangers was on the increase. As the tax-paying population was stable,

it was likely that over time the prosperous residents would have formed a declining proportion of the population.

C) Household Structure

The Poll Taxes and Marriage Tax go into quite considerable detail concerning the wealth and structure of the households in the parish. Overall, wealth was not concentrated in particular areas of the parish though the Close had a reputation for attracting the slightly wealthier inhabitants.⁹⁸ Moreover as the tax rolls cover the entire parish the distribution of wealth does not create the same potential problems as had to be faced in the Canongate. As the majority of paupers were either female or children the effect of including those who were not included in the rolls would have weighed the sex ratio further against the males and have increased the proportion of children.⁹⁹

Both the 1690 Poll Tax and the Marriage Tax have been used in studying the household structure. This was necessary partly because while the Marriage Tax distinguished between male and female children, it did not record their age. The Poll Tax in turn only listed those children who were over the age of 16 but did not distinguish between sexes. A rough estimate of the number of children under 16 can be established by subtracting the Poll Tax total from that of the Marriage Tax. As with the Canongate, the results roughly formed approximately 50% of the population (46.4% in 1690 and 53.7% in 1695). The lower 1690 figure was due to the absence of the younger children of

pauper families.

		Number		Percentage	
		1690	1695	1690	1695
Male Adults	Married	205	295	18.4	18.8
	Single	2	14	0.2	0.9
	Widowers	29	24	2.6	1.5
Female Adults	Married	205	295	18.4	18.8
	Single	4	12	0.4	0.8
	Widows	35	73	3.2	4.6
Children	Under 16	-	184	-	11.7
	16 and over	250	250	22.7	15.9
Servants	Male	121	174	11.0	11.1
	Female	140	234	12.7	14.9
	Unknown	-	2	-	0.1
Lodgers	Male	55	10	5.0	0.6
	Female	60	4	5.4	0.3

Table 16(a) A Survey of Residents of St. Bartholomew's

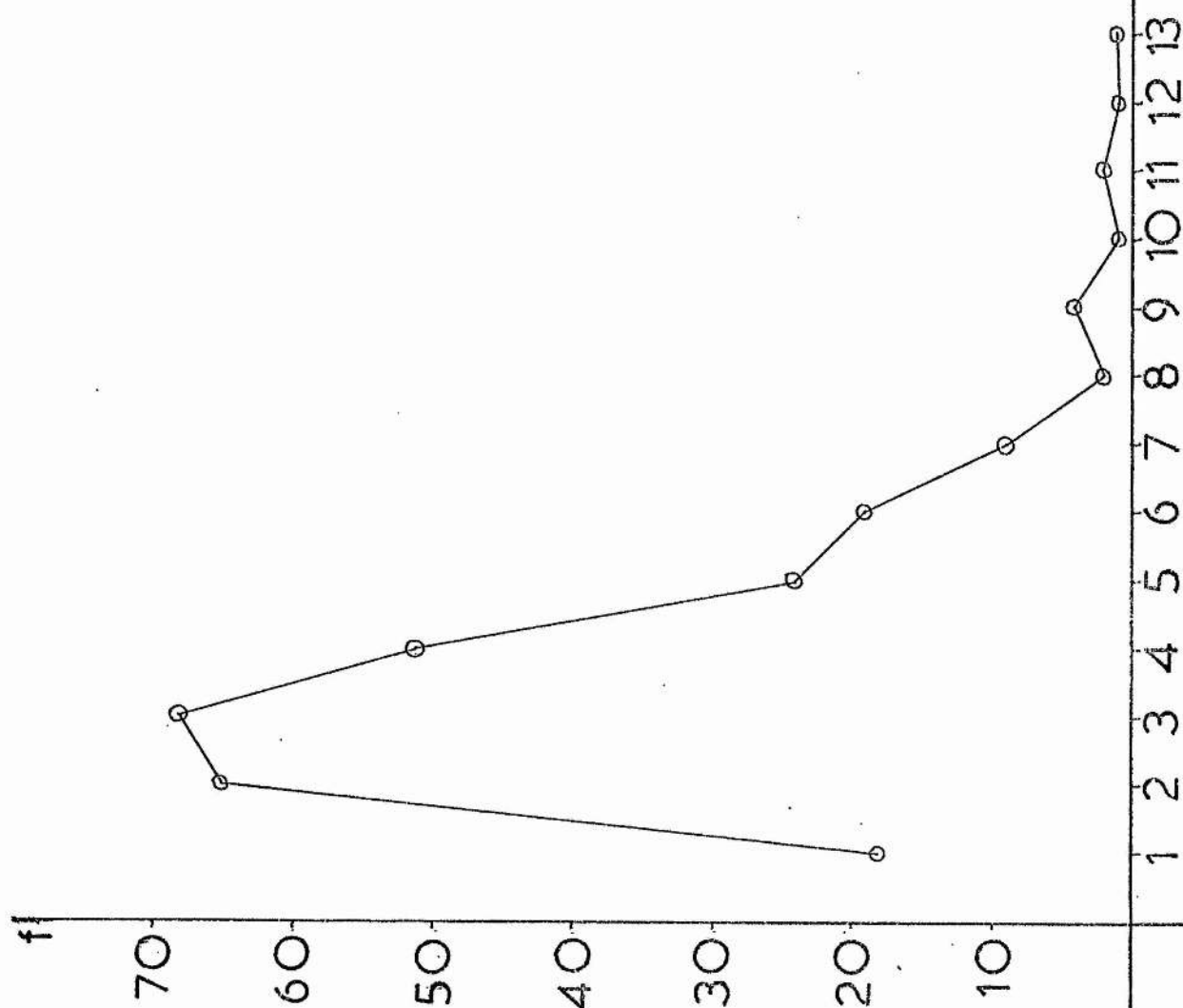
	Number		Percentage		Canongate %	Laslett %
	1690	1695	1690	1695		
Children	250	434	22.7	27.6	37.4*	42.6
Servants	261	410	23.7	26.1	20.4	13.4

* Including Apprentices

Table 16(b) Percentage of Children and Servants compared
with the Canongate and Laslett's 100 Sample
Communities

The large difference between the number of married couples

FIGURE 5.5
THE DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSEHOLDS
IN ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S THE GREAT
BY SIZE (1690).



residents

in the two rolls was partly a result of the 1695 Marriage Tax failing to clearly distinguish lodgers, many of who were married. The Tax also recorded the parish's resident poor - about 300 souls. The presence of the paupers also explains the higher proportion of females in the Marriage Tax. The parish had more servants and fewer children than either the Canongate or Laslett's sample.¹⁰⁰ This probably reflected the nature of the economy in the parish and the fact that most families had servants.¹⁰¹ Many of the crafts in St. Bartholomew's were labour intensive and would have required several employees. The lower percentage of children is partly explained by the high number of servants. As servants were normally single and young they detracted from the child-bearing section of the community. As in the Canongate there were few single men (0.2% - 0.9%) who were not servants. While the actual number would be slightly higher if lodgers were included, the overall percentage reflects the necessity of marriage if a male was to be accepted into the economic community.

It is difficult to estimate household size from the 1695 Marriage Tax due to the ambiguous status of some of the married couples. No such problem arises with the Poll Tax which clearly indicates lodgers who can then be excluded from the survey (Table 17). However allowance must be made for the exclusion of children under 16 from the roll. As with the Canongate the distribution was positively skewed (see Figure 5) and had strong similarities with Coventry. The major difference was that St. Bartholomew's had fewer large households which would be

Household Size	Number	Percentage	Canongate %	St. Bartholomew's	Coventry	Laslett's 100 Communities
1	18	6.79	3.2]		
2	65	24.53	15.1	]	56.98	36.3
3	68	25.66	21.3]		
4	51	19.25	20.0	]	24.3	30.5
5	24	9.06	16.2	]	28.31	
6	19	7.17	8.1]		
7	9	3.40	6.2]		
8	2	0.75	3.8]		
9	4	1.50	1.9	]	14.71	33.2
10	1	0.38	1.9	]	18.4	
11	2	0.75	1.1]		
12	1	0.38	0.3]		
13	1	0.38	0.3]		
	265	100.00	99.4			
Lodgers						
					14	

Table 17 Distribution of Households by Size compared with the Canongate,
Coventry and One Hundred Sample Parishes (1690 Poll Tax)

Sex	Status	Number 1690	Number 1695	% 1690	% 1695
Male	Married	203	198	76.6	74.2
	Single	-	9	-	3.4
	Widower	7	14	2.6	5.2
	Unknown	22	3	8.3	1.1
Female	Married	-	-	-	-
	Single	-	-	-	-
	Widow	29	36	10.9	13.5
	Unknown	3	7	1.1	2.6
Not Known		1	-	0.4	-
				99.9	100.0

	Coventry	One Hundred Communities	Canongate	1690	1695
Couples	75.6	70.4	76.4	76.6	74.2
Single men & not known	4.7	12.3	1.0	8.3	4.5
Single women	7.6	3.4	1.8	1.1	2.6
Widows & Widowers	12.1	12.9	16.2	13.5	18.7

Table 18 Households by Sex and Status of Head compared
with Coventry, Canongate, and Laslett's One
Hundred Sample Communities

expected if the parish had fewer high status or wealthy families residing in it. The absence of such families also meant the absence of the large groups of servants associated with them.

The distribution of households by the status of its head was remarkably similar to the Canongate and to the other studies. A difficulty arises over the number of houses which appear to have been sub-divided. Where the people involved were married couples it could be assumed that they lived in separate households.¹⁰² However it is much more difficult to classify single persons - they could have been lodgers, servants or single households. For this reason only those listed first in the tax rolls were included in Table 18.

The parish had a very high percentage of households led by widows and widowers (18.7%) several of whom were involved in trade. There was little to prevent widows doing so as the Guilds had no authority. As in the Canongate there were few single men which reflected the pressure exerted to marry.

	Number 1690	Number 1695	Percentage 1690	Percentage 1695
Overall	1099	1571	89.19	78.90
Adults	852	1137	91.51	83.36
Servants	261	410	82.87	74.35
Children	250	434	-	67.75

Table 19 Sex Ratios in St. Bartholomew's the Great

The sex ratio at birth was weighed against the female

population.¹⁰³ However by the time maturity was reached the balance had usually swung in their favour, especially in urban areas. St. Bartholomews' ratios agreed more with those of Laslett's survey than with Coventry or the Canongate (Table 20).¹⁰⁴ This would appear to have been largely the result of the larger proportion of male servants in St. Bartholomew's compared to the Canongate. This is somewhat surprising as many more females were thought to move to urban areas than males. It can only be explained by the fact that the economy of the parish needed male manpower for many of its industries such as printing and textiles. As these persons were normally single, few would have appeared in any of the records which were used to measure immigration.

Overall the household structure in the parish was broadly similar to the Canongate and the other urban areas studied by Phythian-Adams and Laslett. Like the Canongate, St. Bartholomew's had a large number of widows. Though the sex ratio in 1690 was normal, that of 1695 was not so strong but was still superior to both the Canongate and Coventry. This plus the estimates for parish size suggests that St. Bartholomew's was altogether a much more stable community than its twin in the north. The economy and population of St. Bartholomew's lacked the prestige of the nobility and luxury trades but this may have resulted in a more secure future not dependent on a transient and narrow-based demand.

Despite this St. Bartholomew's faced similar problems

	One Hundred Communities		Coventry		Canongate		St. Bartholomew's 1690		St. Bartholomew's 1695	
Adults	106.6	91.3	82.3	72.0	82.0	66.0	91.51	87.19	83.36	78.86
Servants			55.0		40.0		82.87		74.35	
Children		91.4		128.9		68.9		-		67.75

Table 20 Sex Ratios in St. Bartholomew's the Great compared with

Coventry, Canongate and Laslett's One Hundred Sample Parishes

to the Canongate. A large number of vagabonds and paupers passed through the parish. These represented a drain on resources and a potential threat to the stability of the community - at least in the eyes of the parishioners. English historians have suggested that the system of relief in that country was superior to that in Scotland. We now turn to discover just how effectively the vestry dealt with the problem of the poor and the other difficulties the parish had to face.

parish: St Bartholomews the Great

YEAR	Month of Conception												BAPTISMS	COMMENTS		
	Month of Baptism															
	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR				
	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC				
1680																
1681																
1682																
1683																
1684																
1685	3	6	8	3	4	6	5	3	3	3	9	5	58	20	38	66
1686	6	7	8	6	7	4	5	5	8	9	4	5	74	27	47	72
1687	5	3	5	6	8	2	8	6	2	6	5	9	65	19	46	64
1688	8	5	6	7	3	6	4	6	4	8	4	5	66	26	40	65
1689	7	3	5	9*	4	7	6	2	6	6	7	7	69	24	45	48
1690	7	1	9	3	3	5	3	4	7	3	2	3	50	20	30	63
1691	3	7	5	3	2	6	4	2	4	9	8	5	58	18	40	65
1692	5	2	8	6	5	5		3	7	5	7	4	57	21	36	62
1693	2	9	13	5	10	5*	6	2	2	1	7	3	65	29	36	51
1694	8	6	7	5	3	5	4	1	7	6	1		53	26	27	64
1695	7	5	9	3	5*	5	5	7	13	2	5		66	24	42	
1696																
1697																
1698																
1699																
TOTAL	61	54	83	56	54	56	50	41	63	58	59	46	681			26

BAPTISMS

(A)

parish: St Bartholomews the Great

YEAR	CIVIL YEAR (Totals)												HARVEST YEAR (Totals)	ST RANGERS	COMMENTS	
	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC				
1680																
1681																
1682																
1683																
1684																
1685	7	5	5	2	3	7	9	11	8	6	7	3	73	38	35	77
1686	5	3	8	5	8	8	5	5	2	4	2	7	62	42	20	64
1687	7	5	7	7	9	5	4	6	4	8	9	3	74	44	30	66
1688	6	7	9	2	2	5	5	7	8	6	3	6	66	36	30	51
1689		2	2	2	6	4	5	6	9	7	7	1	51	21	30	55
1690	1	6	3	2	4	3	6	1	3	2	3	3	37	25	12	49
1691	7	1	9	3	6	5	6	13	8	3	4	11	76	37	39	79
1692	3	11	5	3	8	5	5	2	6	9	11	6	74	40	34	75
1693	10	9	1	5	6	4	6	15	9	3	6	9	83	41	42	92
1694	7	6	8	7	6	7	9	8	10	10	7	4	89	50	39	69
1695	6	6	6	1	5	5	1	3	2	10	11	9	65	30	35	49
1696																
1697																
1698																
1699																
TOTAL	59	61	63	39	63	58	61	77	69	68	70	62	750			

(B)

BURIALS

parish: St Bartholomews the Great

YEAR	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	CIVIL YEAR (Totals)	JAN- JUL	AUG- DEC	HARVEST YEAR (Totals)	COMMENTS
1680																	
1681																	
1682																	
1683																	
1684																	
1685	1					1			1	1	1		5	2	3	8	
1686		2			2		1		1	2			8	5	3	15	
1687	3		2	3	2	2		2		1	1	1	17	12	5	11	
1688			1	3	1	1							6	6		3	
1689				2			1	1	2		1		7	3	4	12	
1690					4	2	2		1	1	1	2	13	8	5	10	
1691	1	1			1		3	1			1		8	5	3	7	
1692				2			2			1		2	7	4	3	5	
1693						1	1				1	1	4	2	2	5	
1694					2	1			1				4	3	1	3	
1695					1	1		1	1	1		1	6	2	4	9	
1696																	
1697																	
1698																	
1699																	
TOTAL	5	3	3	10	13	9	10	5	7	7	6	7	85				

MARRIAGES

(C)

CHAPTER SIX THE INFLUENCE OF THE VESTRY

(i) GUTTLING KNAVES - THE COMPOSITION OF THE VESTRY

By the late seventeenth century there were two main types of vestry in England - 'Closed/Select' and 'Open' - each having different methods of recruitment.¹ The epithet referred to the amount of popular participation involved in the election of the members. 'Select' vestries were composed of only a few of the more important parishioners. Generally they were not responsible to the majority of the parishioners and held office for life. The ordinary parishioners had no say in the selection of the vestrymen who were normally co-opted by existing members. In this they were very similar to the Scottish kirk sessions. This type of vestry was common in London but could also be found in the other parts of the country. The 'select' vestries had their origins in the mid-sixteenth century and in many cases presumably had the support of the majority of the parish. However, as time passed the term 'select' became almost synonymous with abuse and dishonesty.

" . . . illit'rate Constables
Who with their Mercenary Staves,
Protect Night-Walking sluts, and Knaves."²

At first the 'closed' vestries cited 'immemorial' custom as the justification for their existence and in many cases this was an adequate defence.³ However some vestries desired the support of the law even though their existence was of dubious legality. As the parish was, at least in part, an ecclesiastical institution the 'closed' bodies first appealed to the Church.⁴

They applied to the 'Ordinary' (Bishop) for a 'Faculty' which granted his sanction for any change in any matter under his jurisdiction - in this case the existence of select vestries.⁵

In actual fact though many of these were granted they may have had no legal authority.⁶ Be that as it may, the more

'substantial' members of St. Bartholomew's the Great applied for such a Faculty in 1606,

"the parish being much increased by many building and the parishioners finding many inconveniences by a disagreeing multitude, made complaint to the then Archdeacon of London for a Reformation, whose then official . . . approved of a select number of vestrymen under his handwriting in our Vestry Book"⁷.

As a 'select' vestry it was not answerable to the public who were excluded from its meetings and had no say in the election of new members. It consisted of the Incumbent (though he rarely attended), the churchwarden and "those who have served or fined" as churchwardens or another onerous office. The other parish office holders were sometimes permitted to attend the meetings.⁸ The committee did not meet as often as the session - perhaps only four or five times a year. Once admitted, membership was normally for life. While the full size of the vestry was around thirty, the meetings were normally attended by no more than twelve to sixteen persons.⁹

The vestries were answerable to both the civil and the ecclesiastical authorities. They were responsible for the fabric of the church and its property; they were expected to protect the Anglican Creed; to enforce morality; to assist the Constable; to care for the poor; to keep the streets in good

repair and to have the garbage collected. To do this they were able to raise parish rates and to select people to hold the various local offices such as scavenger, overseer and churchwarden. In effect they presided over a local 'cursus honorum' in which residents could rise from the lowest office of scavenger up through constable, collector for the poor, sidesman, lower churchwarden and upper churchwarden to eventually sit on the vestry itself.

	Terry Whitehead	Joseph Stuart
Scavenger	1686	1688
Constable	1687 & 1688 (F)	1689 & 1690 (F)
Collector	1689	1691
Sidesman	1692-3	
Under Churchwarden	1693-4	1693-4
Upper Churchwarden	1694-5	1694-5
Vestry	1694-5	1694-5
Auditor	1696	

Table 1 The Parish 'Cursus Honorum'

However the vestrymen did not necessarily see themselves as the rulers of the parish - to a large degree they felt that they were its servants.¹⁰

Generally 'select' vestries have had a very bad reputation, being the object of many complaints about dishonesty and corruption. The average vestryman has been painted as a fat and wealthy citizen who lived off the ordinary residents and who robbed the poor of what was rightfully theirs.

"When parish taxes shall be well applyed
 And Vestries lay their costly Feasts aside
 Then shall Church-Wardens deal justly by the Poor,
 And be accounted Gutt'ling Knaves no more."¹¹

However this view is mainly based on pamphlets like the one quoted above and they should not be assumed to be totally accurate. Unquestionably there were dishonest parish officials but they would not have been limited to the 'select' vestries - 'select' did not necessarily mean dishonest. This is supported by St. Bartholomew's the Great which did not have any accusations of dishonesty levelled against it. According to the Webb's

"the ancient parish . . . seems - from its well kept records from 1662 and from the paucity of hostile criticism - to furnish another example of relatively honest administration".¹²

So who were these veritable paragons of virtue who ran the parish?

To understand the attitudes and actions of the vestry members it is necessary to know something about their background. One source of information might be the occupations of this group. However the Guild records in this case are of little use and the tax rolls did not record this information. Using what little detail can be found in these records plus some information from wills and the parish registers it is possible to trace the occupations of thirteen of the thirty-two known members (Table 2). Moreover as the information is mainly about those who regularly attended meetings it reflects the effective composition of the vestry.

Though the actual occupations differed from the Canongate, the overall status was similar and the influence of their social

superiors was noticeable by its absence. The minor gentry in the parish may have had neither the interest nor the time for such affairs or may not have been primarily resident in the parish. The relationship between session and Incorporation present in the Canongate was absent here largely because the tradesmen were not forced to join the Guilds.

Occupation	Number
Cook	1
Stage Coach Owner	1
Salesman	3
Bricklayer	1
Draper	1
Printer	2
Brassworker	1
Minister (Incumbent)	1
Upholsterer	1
Innkeeper	1
Total	13

Table 2 Known Occupations of the Vestrymen

The wealth of the members can be examined through the 1690 Poll Tax and the 1695 Marriage Tax.¹³ The results show that the membership was polarised at both ends of the scale with over 25% worth £600 and 30% paying only the basic rate. This was in contrast to the Canongate where the basic taxpayers were under-represented in the session. The mode in the Canongate was the "merchants and wealthier tradesmen" group, in St. Bartholomew's it was the ordinary residents. Naturally none

of the members were described as poor. It would have been literally unthinkable to have selected someone who did not contribute to the running of the parish and did not have a vested interest in the smooth running of parish life. The small peak at the top of the tax scale is explained by the fact that the vestry was the only vehicle of influence and control open to the wealthy merchants as St. Bartholomew's belonged to neither ward nor precinct. Like the Canongate the overall impression is of a vestry which was composed of the economic pith of the parish - the hard working craftsmen who had most interest in the maintenance of a well organised and peaceful community.

Tax Bracket	Number	
Basic	12	
£100 or 10/= Rent	10	Mode = Basic
£200	1	Median = £100
£600	9	

Table 3 Tax Status of the St. Bartholomew's the Great
Vestry Members

The work involved was time consuming, difficult and unrewarding. A good idea of what was involved can be gained from the accounts kept by Mr. Laming (churchwarden 1697 to 1698) who recorded his own opinions in the margins. It is immediately obvious that he worked long and uncertain hours. On 29th July

he complained that "you all know it was too much for one day" when working on the Trophie Book.¹⁴ In August he "was called out of bed 12 oclock at night to take care of a big bellied woman".¹⁵ He doubted that his dedication would be appreciated and wrote "I question wither I shall have thanks". Despite this somewhat resigned attitude to a difficult job he also felt a genuine concern for the plight of others. When he paid a nurse to look after a child he recorded "I spent my own money". As he discovered, the job also had its dangers. He twice attempted to give a woman some money which she thought was insufficient and the first time "she pisht at it" and on the second attempt "I was threatened".

It was little wonder then that many paid quite substantial fines rather than take up the offices. The positions of constable, scavenger and overseer of the poor were particularly unpopular due to the amount of work involved.¹⁶ Though many recognised their obligations and served for one year they would quickly fine if appointed for a second.¹⁷ Others when first appointed would fine for several offices at once.¹⁸ The more senior positions of sidesman and churchwarden were more popular due to the status involved and because they normally led to a seat on the vestry. The elders and deacons actually carried out the administration themselves while the vestrymen appointed others to do it for them.

There was no direct reward for those who took the time and trouble to work for the benefit of the parish. The vestrymen and their officers therefore took advantage of a similar

system of perks as enjoyed by the Canongate kirk session. In April 1688 "it was ordered that the Church Wardens shall have £3 allowed for Easter and Christmas feasts and £4 for Ascension Day".¹⁹ When possible business was conducted in a hosterly such as in October 1685 when the churchwardens "Spent at the Crowne Tavern with Esquire Leigh 1/=". ²⁰ In 1697 Mr. Laming "Paid at Mrs. Coopers [The Half Moon Tavern] . . . It was a wet day and occasioned spending two bottles of sack more than was usual - 1/= of it was bread, therefore don't blame me, you call for it I paid it - 17/6".²¹ Unfortunately not all the members treated such occasions with sufficient dignity. When part of the vestry was inspecting the lighting and found it necessary to spend 5/6 on meat and drink "Fauson got drunk, I know not how".²² It would seem that the vestry did have a conscience, for on 21st December it was decided that feasting on the parish should come to an end.

As in the Canongate the vestry looked after its own. The Half Moon Tavern where most of the business was conducted and where the Communion Wine was purchased was owned by the widow of a vestryman, one Mrs. Cooper. The vestry also made use of the normal status symbols such as private pews and had the added refinement of hiring coaches for parish business when normally they travelled by foot.²³

The vestry was drawn from the economic strength of the parish - the wealthy craftsmen who were interested in the stability and prosperity of the parish. Though not the richest inhabitants many had sufficient wealth to exercise an authority

over the apprentices, assistants and servants who were likely to disrupt the peace. They represented those who paid poor rates and parish rates and would have wanted to insure that these were used efficiently. Though few would have welcomed the chance to serve as a parish official many at least recognised their responsibility to the community.

"The safety of the social order rested on the dependability of the honest commoner 'class', and they probably more than any other section of society probably felt most keenly the need for the sense of community. For these people were the lynch-pins on which the whole system depended . . . it would be simple romanticism to deny that they did not . . . live their lives under a heavy burden of social obligation."²⁴

(ii) THE JUDICIAL AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITIES
OF THE VESTRY

A) Parish Control

In England as in Scotland the emphasis of local government was at the parish level. This had less to do with the importance or power of the church than with the increasing state use of the parish as a convenient unit from the sixteenth century onwards. The vestrymen and parish officers undoubtedly shared some of the attitudes of the elders and deacons. As businessmen they wanted peace and quiet and were determined to insure that their money was well spent. However the vestry was much more the agent of the Crown than the weapon of the Church - in complete contrast to the kirk session. The vestryman's interest in the religious and moral spheres was minimal while their concern with the secular administration of the parish was more important.

One of the major differences between the vestry and kirk session was that the former did not possess the powers of prosecution that made its Scottish counter-part so effective. The vestry could only report delinquents to either the ecclesiastical courts (Archdeaconary or Consistory) or to the Sessions. Though the constables were appointed by the vestry they were responsible to the Justices of the Peace (in London the Lord Mayor and his senior aldermen).²⁵ This may have resulted in a less effective concentration of authority. In the Canongate the kirk session could either deal with a problem

itself or refer it to the burgh magistrates - one of whom was normally an elder in any case.

The Archdeacon's courts met at least twice a year and were similar - at least in theory - in jurisdictional power to the kirk sessions and presbyteries in Scotland, but lacked effective authority.²⁶ Their authority had been declining throughout the seventeenth century and had been almost destroyed by the Interregnum administrations. Though given a fresh lease of life in 1660 in some areas the courts never seem to have regained their former power and authority, especially in London. This was in part due to the expense of presenting a case which made the courts unpopular.²⁷ It was to these courts that a churchwarden could present cases of a religious or moral nature. He could also present cases to the Sessions and though occasions of this were noted in the minutes and accounts, details were not recorded.²⁸

It is difficult to estimate how much support the secular organs of control gave to this aspect of parish life. As the constable was the appointee of the vestry it could be expected that the relationship between the two arms of public order was quite close at least at that low level. Indeed several Acts required that the churchwarden and constable co-operate in controlling ale-houses, vagrancy and swearing and the accounts record examples of co-operation as when the churchwarden, constables and collectors took to court those who refused to pay the poor rate.²⁹

In contrast to the kirk session, the evidence of the vestry minutes does not indicate that its members were particularly interested in the reformation of the sinner. It would seem that they were merely interested in the preservation of good neighbourliness. The members of the vestry did not patrol the parish as was expected of the deacons and elders. There were, of course, the Watch and constables, but the onus was probably on the individual to report malefactors. As in the Canongate informers were used - one being paid in December 1685.³⁰ As an incentive such individuals were offered half of the resulting fine.

The vestry was not active in presenting cases to the higher ecclesiastical courts. This was in line with the majority of parishes at this time. Unfortunately the minutes and accounts did not record the details of the very few cases which were presented. In theory the vestry was interested in the same offences as the kirk session yet the number of prosecutions was minimal. Few attempts were made to prosecute the fathers of illegitimate children. One rare exception occurred in June 1694 when the churchwarden applied for a "warrent for keeping the man in the Counter that gott her [Margaret Hughes] with child".³¹ When they did seek out the fathers it was partly in an effort to avoid paying relief. When pregnant women were seized the main concern was to get them out of the parish as quickly as possible, not to punish them for their immoral conduct. In not one case did the vestry record rebuking such a woman.

	1685	1686	1687	1688	1689	1690	1691	1692	1693	1694	1695	1696
Vestry Administration	10	16	15	21	13	19	16	22	17	17	15	15
Poor Relief	4	6	1	5	1	8	10	5	3	7	2	12
Religion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Parish Administration	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	-
'Moral' Offences	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 4 Business before the Vestry 1685-1696

As Table 4 illustrates, the vestry was equally inactive on other moral issues. There was no punishment for drunkenness, no pressure to observe the sabbath and little concern for persons of doubtful character. The only moral policing in the parish consisted of two raids on bawdy houses in Half Moon Alley.³² Each raid cost 1/6 and in the second a local "worthy" was caught who paid for his name to be erased from the records. Indeed the vestry did not approve of the expense of the raids and the churchwarden had to justify his actions - "a cheape bargain whatever you may think". Such an attitude of indifference to moral depravity would have been unthinkable in the Canongate kirk session which believed in bringing all offenders to justice, at least privately. It also illustrates the gap between what the vestry could do and what it actually did. The minutes of the vestry show that it was really an administrative body which left the actual work to its officers. This was in total contrast to the kirk session. The division of responsibility and uncertainty of jurisdiction may have resulted in a system of control which was less effective than that in Edinburgh.

The vestry also had secular law enforcement responsibilities. It was responsible for the Watch which protected the parish during the hours of darkness. While this was under the authority of the constables, the vestry was responsible for wages and recruitment.

"one man more be added to the watch, and that one man to be appointed to stand at the Close Gate and an other to be continually moveing in the same. Alsoe one man to be

constantly standing at Long Lane End and another in Cloth Faire at the Gate, and two men to be moving constantly one in Long Lane, the other in Cloth Faire, and the sixth man to be attending the Constable with Beadell"³³

The means of disciplining petty law breakers were also the responsibility of the vestry. It had to maintain the "Cage" and stocks situated in the parish. The former was probably a result of the parish's semi-independent status as a liberty. In 1694 it was necessary to replace it and the lock had to be frequently changed.³⁴ The stocks also needed regular maintainance and a new lock was fitted in January 1698.³⁵ While there was no record of their use during the period under study, it is unlikely they would have been repaired if not employed, and some idea of the crimes which resulted in their occupation is recorded by E.A. Webb.³⁶ Mr. Pindar and Mr. James Hatten were found guilty of swearing and if they did not pay their fines they were "to be set (publicly) in the stocks for the space of one whole hour". Both would also be used to control the able-bodied vagrants who entered the parish.

The absense of presentments means that either St. Bartholomew's the Great was a saintly paradise or that the vestry and its officials did not want to prosecute. The latter is the more likely explanation and probably derived from the desire of the officials to preserve good neighbourliness. M.J. Ingram has pointed out that a great deal of unofficial arbitration took place at the parish level.³⁷ If this was successful it would save both time and money and would not need to be entered into the records. In such a system the need to present a case to

higher authority would have implied failure. It was recognised that legal action could breed ill-feeling and create more problems than it solved.³⁸ This would be especially true in a small, enclosed parish where people were more likely to know one another. As J.A. Sharpe points out "The system depended, ultimately, on a large degree of mutual regulation among neighbours."³⁹ In this light, the lack of judicial business recorded by both the minutes and accounts could indicate that the local community was able to solve its own problems - at least in the moral and religious fields. However, it could be that in ascribing the lack of judicial business to a desire for parish harmony, the historian is attributing too much to the common sense of the parish guardians. It could be that they no longer cared and lacked the enthusiasm which had been apparent in the 1650's. Perhaps the evidence illustrates simple neglect rather than an unofficial means of preserving the peace.

One exception to the rule of non-presentating was connected with the large number of non-conformists who resided in the parish. Between May 1683 and December 1684 there appears to have been a city-wide campaign against dissenters.⁴⁰ During this period twenty men were brought

"to answeare to a presentment exhibited against them by the churchwardens . . . for not comeing to their parish church and for not recieving the sacrament of the Lords Supper withing five months last past and particulerly at Easter last".⁴¹

While they were threatened with excommunication the State Papers (Domestic) indicate that this was not enforced.

"Warrant to Henry, Bishop of London, and to his Chancellor and Commissaries etc, for stay of process against the following recusants . . . Philip Lissant of St. Bartholomews the Great."

"The King and the Attourney and Solicitor General. Warrant to prepare a bill containing a general pardon to Nicholas Locke of the parish of St. Bartholomew, London, merchant"⁴²

Certainly the dissenters continued to make some use of the church as Thomas Horne "declared he comes to the church prayers time".⁴³

During the period under study the minutes and churchwarden accounts do not record any pressure being exerted on the non-Anglicans. This suggests that only pressure from above shook the vestry out of its normal lethargy for a brief period. Left to its own devices the vestry would probably have ignored the group for the sake of peace and quiet. These were the only presentments in the Archdeaconary Court. All the other references to St. Bartholomew's merely concerned probate and testamentary business.⁴⁴

In religious affairs the vestry was equally inactive. The only major decision was "upon nine persons hwo had preachead for the Lectu^r".⁴⁵ All other business concerned the fabric of the church buildings - building a pallisade;⁴⁶ buying curtains;⁴⁷ or repairing the clock.⁴⁸

Overall the vestry appears to have played little active part in the maintainance of discipline in the parish. Partly this will have been due to the weakness of the ecclesiastical courts in England and partly it was due to the reluctance of the officials to become involved in disputes. It was much better

to solve the disputes in an informal manner (as evidenced by the number of cases withdrawn in the civil courts) or to simply ignore them. In any case, responsibility for the majority of offences lay with the constable who was answerable to the Justices of the Peace. In the field of control the vestry just did not have the same authority as the kirk session. Moreover it had many responsibilities that the session did not have to shoulder.

B) Parish Administration

The privileges which gave the parish its small measure of self-government also gave it the responsibility for lighting, streets, public hygiene and tax collection. In practice most vestries, sitting as precinct committees, also had these responsibilities.⁴⁹ In contrast the kirk sessions were able to leave these tasks to the burgh council.

In St. Bartholomew's the duties do not seem to have caused many difficulties or to have taken up much time. The lighting arrangements were inspected only once when Mr. Laming recorded that 5/6 was "spent with the commission that inspected the lights. Webb, Fauson and Bembrook meat and drink". That "Fauson got drunk" casts some doubt on the efficiency with which the exercise was carried out.⁵⁰ The only other reference to lighting was in 1685 when it was agreed that a resident could have the benefit of two lights in the church yard provided "that no Chamber pot either with pisse or with water or any annoyance be committed".⁵¹ This reference was also the only one which dealt with public hygiene. The scavengers must have collected for the cleansing

of the streets as one Augustus Crowe was brought before the Lord Mayor for refusing to pay the Scavengers Roll.⁵² No reference was made about street maintenance, despite the fact that it was one of the major problems faced by parish government.⁵³ It is possible that maintenance was 'farmed out' as suggested by a minute recording that Peter Richmond was appointed to collect the arrears in turnpike money.⁵⁴ It is surprising that the parish did not have a highway supervisor and it is possible that as no major thoroughfare ran through the 'bounds' the lanes were allowed to decay. If so, the vestry was running the risk of being presented by the Justices of the Peace.

The risk of fire was taken rather more seriously. The parish possessed an "ingine" to put out fires. Once a year it was run out and the churchwarden paid "the watchmen for playing [it], in drink".⁵⁵ In 1691 the vestry even went to the expense of buying "the person that plays the engine a leather coat and capp".⁵⁶ There were also a large number of leather buckets which cost 15/- to mend and paint in 1693.⁵⁷ The equipment either worked or the parish was very lucky for there was no record of a fire in St. Bartholomew's during this period.

Though the parish was exempt from some of the rates of the City of London, the vestry was still responsible for the collection of several taxes. The local rates included those for the poor, parish maintenance, cleansing and the watch. A great deal of time also had to be spent in drawing up the books for state taxes and in trying to collect them.⁵⁸

On Ascension Day every third year, the vestry organised

the "beating of the bounds". This was a parade along the exact bounds of the parish which were designated by permanent markers.⁵⁹ As well as the vestry and its officers, the children played a major role equipped with "white wans", "points" and "nose gais".⁶⁰ Though largely ceremonial, the parade played an important part in defending the privileges and boundaries of the parish from encroachment.

The vestry had a much stronger administrative role than the Scottish kirk sessions. It was more akin to a borough council than a court. Thus it influenced the lives of the inhabitants in a different way. The session wanted them to live moral and religious lives while the vestry wanted them to keep the streets clean. The vestry's ability to act was severely limited by the infrequency of its meetings (never more than four or five times a year) though this gave its officers greater freedom. The records do not help the researcher to judge the efficiency of the vestry. The small number of presentments could be due to poor survival; the parish's ability to solve its own problems or a reluctance to become involved or to drive the system too hard in an era which was anxious to 'contain' the potentially dangerous social repercussions of excessive religious zeal. Overall the records suggest that moral and religious offences played little part in the life of the vestry though the same could not be said about the Poor Laws.

(iii) POOR RELIEFA) History

It was the opinion of both contemporary and later commentators that the English system of poor relief was superior to that operated by the Scots.⁶¹ It has already been argued that the issue was not quite so simple.⁶² The main advantages of the 1597/1601 Acts over their Scottish equivalents were that they allowed for a compulsory rate and contained measures for the provision of work.⁶³ In all other aspects the two systems were very similar.

The 1597 Acts (slightly modified in 1601) formed the foundation of poor relief in England until 1834.⁶⁴ Basically they distinguished between able-bodied and deserving poor; allowed for 'stock' to be given to the able-bodied; established houses of correction; provided for compulsory taxes; permitted punishments and put the whole responsibility in the hands of the churchwardens and overseers of the poor. These Acts were merely the culmination of several decades of legislation going back in London to 1547 when the first compulsory tax was instituted.⁶⁵ Over the next century the major modification was the introduction of the Act of Settlement (14 Chas II Cap 12; 1 Jas II Cap 7; 3 Wm & Mary Cap 11). This legislation stated the conditions under which a vagrant could become a burden on a parish. The authorities had forty days to get rid of him after his presence had been announced in church (3 Wm & Mary Cap 11). By the earlier 1662 Act the vagrant had been able to hide in the parish for forty days and claim relief. It had been noted that the

poor go where they can gain most and the original aim of the legislation had been to clear the urban parishes of vagrants - an ambition that was singularly unsuccessful.⁶⁶

Before 1597 the administration of relief had been in the hands of the parish constables but this had been found to be too inefficient.⁶⁷ The overseers of the poor were selected by the vestry (normally on some type of rota basis) but were under the authority of the magistrates. However as they worked closely with the churchwardens and had their accounts audited by the vestry they were for all purposes parish officials - symbolised by being selected at the same time as the sidesmen and churchwardens. At all times it was possible for the magistrates to override their decisions and to check their accounts. Unlike in Scotland, the vestries did not voluntarily grasp the responsibility for poor relief but had it thrust upon them by central government. The office of overseer was certainly not a popular one and this may have affected the efficiency with which it operated. In St. Bartholomew's the Great the overseers seem to have been the weaker half in a partnership with the wardens, being responsible for only the collection of the rate and the regular poor.

The distinction between able-bodied and deserving poor - of which legislators and historians made so much - did not always work in practice. As elsewhere the important distinction was between the local poor and strangers. The former always took priority even if not quite so worthy of help. Though the laws were harsh their full Draconian weight was rarely applied. As usual legislative theory and practice did not amount to the same

thing.

The system of relief had many weaknesses - the theory of self-supporting work-houses never succeeded; overseers were often dishonest, greedy or lazy; local resources rarely matched local needs and the central authorities could, to a degree, be ignored. In the end the success of the system depended on the quality of the churchwardens and overseers who had to operate it.

B) Attitudes

The parish had not asked for the responsibility of operating the Poor Laws and wealthy inhabitants did not seek the office of overseer. Many of those selected for the posts (the parish had two overseers) fined large amounts rather than accept the office.

"Att a vestry held at the Vestry Room it was ordered that Mr. Thomas Dixon should pay the sum of eleven pounds fine for being excused the two offices of Constable and Collector for the Poor".⁶⁸

Yet many of those appointed were not devoid of wealth and did not fine for the office. It did confer a certain status and could be turned to financial advantage. In general, however, it was expensive, time consuming and thankless.

The changes of the sixteenth century in England had resulted in the same alteration in attitudes towards beggars and vagabonds as has already been noted in Scotland.⁶⁹ While ambivalence in attitude had always existed, the vagrant poor were now regarded more as a threat and liability. This was undoubtedly due in part to their ever increasing numbers. Attitudes were complicated by the inability to distinguish between unemployment

and under employment; between those who wanted to work and those who did not; or between long term and short term poverty.

Though the vestrymen, churchwardens and overseers would have been influenced by the teachings of the Church, as businessmen they were also interested in peace and saving unnecessary expense. Their attitude towards the poor would have been full of conflicting priorities. It cannot be doubted that they felt pity towards at least the impotent poor; yet they may also have felt threatened by the large number of paupers.⁷⁰ The accounts of Mr. Laming show that the officials were not senseless to the suffering around them. He described recipients as "miserable objects" and "true objects".⁷¹ In February 1698 he justified an increase in relief by claiming "you all know what weather it was and their wants and cryes were great".⁷² The parish authorities were normally willing to help those who had been particularly unfortunate. Mr. Laming paid 2/= to "two poor men that were ruin'd by the overflowing of the banks in Lincolnshire. They lost in sheep and cattle £1,000. They had several justice of the peace hands that I knew there".⁷³ On another occasion "John Staply, John Drake and Daniel Brooks, merchants cast away as they made to shore at Stockton in the county of Durham from Nevis" were given 2/=.⁷⁴

At the same time Mr. Laming strove to insure that no more was paid out of the parish funds than was necessary - contrary to Dorothy Marshall's belief that the vestry did not object to high expenditure.⁷⁵ This is best illustrated by his attitude towards unmarried pregnant females - "I sent a big-bellied

woman away in a coach that was late in the parish".⁷⁶ In

November Lucy Shipman met the same fate when

"Mr. Burgis and myself was two days about this Lucy and at last found out the true father. It cost 3/9 and 1/= for the warrant. We turned her out and saved the parish a greater charge".⁷⁷

Conventional means were not always sufficient -

"Once more about Lydea Hardy, by the help of strong stout and good bottle ale, we baffled the poor church wardens and overseers of Doctors Commons. But thank old Rozin for that, but I was paymaster so fare well Lydea"

or

"Mr. Burgis and I and another by threats drove away Mrs. Coopers big-bellied maid so that you shall here no more of her".⁷⁸

Undoubtably this was Mr. Laming at his worst and such behaviour

caused Dorothy Marshall to say that

"in the execution of the bastardy laws parochial officers appear to have been bereft of both humanity and decency, and nothing in the old poor law presents a more disgusting spectacle of callous inhumanity".⁷⁹

Indeed the officials invested large sums of money in getting rid of undesirables. The parishes played a game with vagrants in attempts to make other parishes responsible for their welfare. Thus

"we had Mr. Smith the tinman and his servants wife and mother and got the mother off. A good work but I spent 7/=".⁸⁰

Earlier in the year "Mr. Burgis went to inquire wither Mary Marrell was an inhabitant in another parish".⁸¹ The results were not always successful as when

"Mr. Darby and Mr. Burges went to Knightsbridge to search the register wither Broxton Truin was

married to his now wife that was past upon us
and found it was so and we are like to have her"⁸² -

a wife took her husband's parish of settlement. Mr. Laming paid

Mr. Taylor

"in expense 1/= about gitting him clear of
our parish, but they brought him again and we
have him to our cost".⁸³

Yet despite these actions we know that Mr. Laming was not
unfeeling - he was often moved to pity and even used his own money
to help those in need. The problem was that the parish did
not have unlimited resources and not everyone could be helped.
Under such conditions and when there was no shortage of indigenous
poor, no churchwarden would willingly add extra names to the roll
for an indefinite period. Parish officials, including Mr. Laming,
were realists in a harsh environment. Though even then the
vestry was sometimes moved to pity despite the advice of its
officers -

"Spent at Mr. Burgis about Williamsons
admittance . . . it was by your advice
Mr. Stuart, and Gascoyn, Nelham, Burgis,
but you will find it no good advice - I
have no blame".⁸⁴

As usual Mr. Laming was correct and the said Williams later fled
the parish leaving his family to be supported.

The attitudes of the vestry in St. Bartholomew's the Great
differed only in degree from those of the Canongate kirk session.
The elders and deacons may have been more inspired by the
writings of Knox while the vestrymen were inspired by the ever
increasing flood of vagrants entering London.⁸⁵

C) Resources

To the English the strength of their system lay in the fact that it had a compulsory rate. However this did not mean that the money was easily collected. Residents did attempted to avoid payment. Mr. Laming had twice to go "with the constable and collectors before a justice with several more that refused to pay".⁸⁶ Though it was unlikely that the protesters would have escaped payment completely they may have succeeded in having their contributions reduced. Even the task of drawing-up the poor book caused the churchwardens many problems. Though different areas used different methods it was normal to base the rate on the rental paid by the residents. The tax was collected every quarter and one roll still survives for the parish.⁸⁷ The amount paid varied from 2/- to £1.18.00. The problem was that the amount collected bore little resemblance to what was needed and was solely a function of the rates. The poor rate was the single largest source but it was not the only one.

As a supplement, collections were taken at the church door on festivals, fast days and when needed (Table 5). The sums collected were never large but were on a par with those collected in the larger parish of the Canongate.⁸⁸ The funeral pall was hired out when needed for a sum not less than 10/-. If a private pall was used the money still had to be paid. No details about the charges remain but the cost probably varied according to the status of the deceased.

The fines imposed by the vestry formed a major source of

Date	£	s	d	Date	£	s	d	Date	£	s	d
25-12-89	1	8	0	17- 9-90				19- 8-91 (F)		8	0
5- 1-89/90		10	0	21- 9-90				6- 9-91		9	0
19- 1-89/90		5	0	20-11-90				6- 9-91 (F)		7	0
2- 3-90		9	0	25-12-90			1	4-10-91		10	0
12- 3-90	1	3	0	4- 1-90/91			12	26-11-91		6	0
16- 4-90 (F)	13	0	0	Good Friday 1691			6	Sunday before Christmas		15	0
20- 4-90	2	5	0	Easter 1691			3	Christmas Day	2	0	0
21- 5-90 (F)	15	0	0	29- 4-91 (F)			1	3- 1-91/92		10	0
Whitsun 1690	1	7	6	20- 5-91 (F)			12	Easter 1691		7	0
18- 6-90	10	0	0	Whitsun 1691			1	Good Friday 1691		11	0
16- 7-90 (F)	10	0	0	7- 7-91			1	Easter 1691	3	8	0
20- 8-90 (F)	5	0	0	15- 7-91 (F)			12	7- 8-91		10	0

Table 5 Collections taken at the Church Door 1689-91

(F = Fast Day)

income. The most lucrative were those paid by people not wanting to take up the various parish offices. The cost varied according to the number and quality of the posts - to avoid the churchwardenship cost a minimum of £11.⁸⁹ It seems that the vestry appointed people to a second year in their posts solely to get money from them. This was certainly very successful - in 1693-94, £63.12.08 was collected in this way. An original source of money was a fine of £4 for "any person that layeth a stone upon a grave in the Great Churchyard".⁹⁰

The poor box also benefitted from certain civil offences - at least fourteen crimes contributed towards parish relief.⁹¹

1 Jas I cap 17]	
7 Jas I cap 11	]	Infraction of the Game Laws
21 Jas I cap 18]	
1 Jas I		Alehouse keepers over expensive (20/=)
4 Jas I cap 5		Drunkenness (5/=)
21 Jas I cap 7		Drinking in alehouse in offenders parish (3/4)
3 Jas I cap 4		Absence from church (1/=)
21 Jas I cap 20		Profane swearing (1/=)
21 Jas I cap 18		Breaking regulations on cloth making
1 Chas I cap 1		Meeting for games outside parish on Sunday
1 Chas I cap 1		As above (but unlawful games in parish)
3 Chas I cap 2		Carriers driving on Sunday (20/=)
3 Chas I cap 2		Butchers killing meat on Sunday (6/8)
39 & 40 Eliz I cap iii		Default in carrying out provisions of Act for Poor Relief

Table 6 Secular Fines Contributed to the Poor Funds

Another small but steady income came from the hiring of pews to wealthy individuals as status symbols. The amounts were

small - Mr. Hibbert paid 10/= in 1685 and Mr. Thoroughgood paid only 5/=. The rent could be difficult to collect, usually involving a small outlay in a coffee shop or inn and the pews had to be maintained.

Bequests were still an important source of finance though they had probably declined in numbers. The alms houses had originally been bequeathed by the Lady Say and Seale.

Mr. Bilbie Sharpe had left £20 of which 20/= was to be distributed every New Years Eve - a duty carried out in the comfort of Mrs. Cooper's Inn. Both Andrew Wyatt and Mr. Deanes left the rent of some property.⁹² Other residents left sums of varying amounts and these have been listed in Table 7.

The churchwardens also sold the goods of those who died poor and used the money either for the poor or to defray the cost of the funeral.

Of course the churchwardens and overseers did have setbacks when trying to increase the resources available for the poor - as even the redoubtable Mr. Laming discovered.

"Mr. Darby and I was at Mr. Burges to consult where to git a place to lay Mr. Nelhams coles that he promised to buy for the use of the poor in hard weather that they might have them at prime cost. We went to Capt Smiths had a grant for a place gratis. But the maggots had done working in my parish. We never saw coles nor mony but it cost me in all -2/6".⁹³

There was little difference between the methods used by the vestry and those used by the kirk session. It seems unlikely that the compulsory rate was a major advantage in London. The session had greater powers to directly levy fines for religious

and moral offences but did not have the income from those who wanted to avoid parish offices. The most important fact was that both communities appear to have collected sufficient funds for their needs.

D) Who was assisted?

The main source of information is the few surviving churchwarden accounts for this period. While these only survive for four years they are very detailed and, in the case of Mr. Laming, enlightening. Some information can be gained from the vestry minutes and a few miscellaneous documents.⁹⁴ Apart from one poor rate list, none of the overseers records survive. In St. Bartholomew's the churchwardens appear to have been the primary poor relief administrators. It was in their accounts that the day to day details were recorded. The overseer was normally described as the "collector" and was merely the churchwarden's assistant. They collected the rate, paid the weekly poor and searched the parish for strangers. This was not the role envisaged for the overseer in the statutes and was another example of the law being adapted to local circumstances.

As in Scotland the distinction between deserving and able-bodied poor was less important than that between locals and strangers. While the latter would be helped if there were sufficient funds, parish residents tended to feel "a measure of xenophobia towards the wandering people".⁹⁵

It is possible to divide the recipients of relief into different groups. The basic group consisted of the established

poor, receiving money on a regular basis. Almost nothing is known about this body. However, it has been suggested that in 1698 it was made up of twenty-three 'pensioners' (of whom one was in Bedlam).⁹⁶ The vestry minutes recorded the amounts given when they were first awarded and they were quite small - Mrs. Sly 1/=-, Mrs. Franklin 2/=- and Sarah Taylor plus two children 4/=- per week.⁹⁷ The smaller sums were very little to live on and suggest that some were only being partly supported. The majority of this group were old widows and many would have been kept in the three alms houses presented by Lady Say and Seale.⁹⁸

"It was then ordered in vestrie that the Widow Davis be admitted into the Alms House . . . in the room of the Widdow Cannon lately deceased. It was likewise ordered that the Widow Torrel be putt into possession of one of the Garrets in the Almshouse . . .".⁹⁹

The regular poor were also expected to wear brass badges advertising their status. In July 1697, twenty-four were purchased from Mr. Luckman (after problems over the design) - a total which supports the number of pensioners estimated above.¹⁰⁰

The established poor were only a fraction of the total recipients. The upper churchwarden was responsible for making awards of similar value to other needy persons. While the payments were not meant to be permanent some were paid over long periods of time - Mrs. Godby received 1/=- per week throughout Mr. Laming's term of office.¹⁰¹

One of the most noticeable sections consisted of the parish children. The parish had to pay for the upkeep of the many

foundlings and bastard children discovered within the bounds.

If possible the parish would first attempt to avoid all responsibility. The results were not always successful, as when "Mr. Webb and I [Mr. Laming] went to Enfield about the bastard child, it was borne in Long Lain. It cost in expenses 8/9".¹⁰²

If the parish was unable to pass children away it had to hire nurses to care for them or financially support the mother - if there was one. Thus on 1st May 1693 the churchwarden "Paid Widow Taylor for taking care of a foundling".¹⁰³ A year later the same Sarah Taylor was "Paid for three days keeping a foundling child".¹⁰⁴ Of course, these were not trained nurses, merely widows seeking to increase their income. The foundlings' chances of survival were not particularly high. The women may have been looking after more than one child and may have been more interested in the extra money than the reason it was being paid. It is not being suggested that the 'nurses' practiced infanticide, merely that they may not have been terribly interested in the child's survival. The vestry also paid for the children's clothes. This sometimes took the form of individual items but usually the nurse or mother was given a fixed sum every quarter.

"Paid Mrs. Golding for a quarters clothes for Laws child. 2/6"

"Paid Compton a quarters clothes for John Smithfield. 2/6"

"Paid Merryman a quarters clothes for two children 5/=".¹⁰⁵

If the child was a foundling it was normally given a name which reflected the place where it had been found - hence the

John Smithfield above.

"Paid Sarah Taylor for taking up and keeping a laid child 1/= and for the christening the child whose name was John Bartholomew Close".¹⁰⁶

It was vital, when the children were old enough, to find them a trade and insure that they did not become a burden on the parish in later years. As an extra safeguard Mr. Laming advised "don't bind parish boys in our own parish"¹⁰⁷ - advice which applied equally to girls.

"£10 to be paid to it putting forth of Mr. Carters daughter which Mrs. Feird hath kept since the decease of the childs father"

"Medcalfe be put an apprentice to Mr. Weaver the cooke in Smithfield and that he have with him £7 and that he find him cloths out of it and that he be bound for eight years".¹⁰⁸

The period of residence in another parish would have meant that St. Bartholomew's was no longer the parish responsible for relief - as another parish boy discovered.

"Spent in going to Bishopsgate Street to git the parish clear of John Bartholomew Close, once a parish child, his wife big and two children besides. Mr. Burges and the beadle,¹⁰⁹ and I did it and spent 2/7 - That was cheap".

The children were not the only residents in need of nursing. The provision of aid for the ill was one of the churchwarden's major outlays (see Table 8). Often this merely took the form of paying money to the patient such as the 2/6 "Given Truin her husband raveing mad in his sickness"¹¹⁰ or the 1/= "Paid Lewis her children being sick".¹¹¹ "A poor bricklayer that hath his arm and leg broken in a fall from a house. A sad spectacle" was also given 1/=.¹¹² Unfortunately the illness

was too rarely recorded. In September 1697 a mother was given 2/= "to help her daughter into the lock in Kings Lane - French Pox".¹¹³ Another mother was paid 1/= in 1694 "her two children having small pox", as did several other children.¹¹⁴ Nan Langford was paid 2/= for Margaret Howard, "her brest being very sore"¹¹⁵ - could it have been cancer? In some cases "nurses" were hired to look after the afflicted. Mr. Taylor was "sent . . . 20/= to keep him and his nurse".¹¹⁶ None of the nurses would have had any qualifications but were again widows seeking to supplement their relief. On occasions more expert advice and skill was needed. The churchwarden "Paid the surgeon that sett Mr. Taylors knee 20/=" ¹¹⁷ and Widow Sheres was paid 6d "for ontment and things".¹¹⁸ In several cases the vestry tried to send the infirm to a hospital such as St. Bartholomew's or Bedlam. While the parish still had to pay maintainance at least they were out of the way.

" . . . we presented Truin to get him into the Hospital ready to perish and gave him 2/="

"Mrs. Horton in Bedlam a gowne, pettecout, two fine shifts, a pair of shoes stockings shoe strings and a girdle".¹¹⁹

Apart from the obvious motive of charity the churchwardens were keen to insure that people did not become permanent burdens. Thus a comparatively large sum spent on a doctor was good value if it meant that the patient was able to work again and no longer required support.

Medical treatment and money was not always sufficient. When a poor parishioner died it was the duty of the churchwarden

to pay for the funeral.

"Paid for the coffin and shroud for James
May and for drink and bread for the Alms
women as usual 5/="120

It would appear that the officials did not see all paupers in the same light. The amount that the vestry would spend on the funeral could vary greatly and this would have reflected the vestry's opinion of the deceased and his or her position in the parish. Thus Mrs. Braughton who had 20/6 spent on her was more highly regarded than Robert William's wife on whom the vestry spent 9/=. The basic amount appears to have been 5/= as in the example above though a few were lower.¹²¹ The cost of the funeral would have become a greater burden after 1685 when the Marriage Tax included a levy on burials.

	1685-1686 (April-April)	1693-1694	1694-1695	1697-1698
Poor Relief	27. 2. 1	18.15. 2	13. 0. 0	25.16. 5
Rent	2. 6. 6	6.18. 0	6. 6. 6	6.11. 2
Medical Care and Nursing	14. 9. 5	6.15. 6	9.18. 6	23. 6. 4
"Strangers"	5.15. 0	1. 7. 0	0. 9. 0	3. 4. 4
Miscellaneous	18.12. 6	64.12.10*	21.19. 3	34. 7. 2
Total	67. 5. 6	98. 3. 5	51.13. 3	93. 5. 5

* Includes £30 spent on rebuilding the Alms Houses.

Table 8 . The Amount spent by the Churchwarden
towards the Relief of the Poor

The parish was not completely able to avoid helping some of the strangers who passed through its bounds. The numbers of vagrants and travellers were very large due to both the attraction of the city and its importance as a port. St. Bartholomew's was much less generous towards aliens than the Canongate. Only a few in this category received aid.

"Thomas Clements and his family cast away coming from America"

"Mr. Robert Crinshaw, Burgiss of Aberdeen in Scotland, by pass".¹²²

The main category of stranger was made up of paid-off or maimed sailors and soldiers. Given passes by the authorities, they frequently passed through the parish on their way home - especially towards the end of the decade. "Given seventeen soldiers of Bellasis Regiment, come from France hardly a ragg upon them (taken prisoner) 2/6" or "Given a parcell of seamen - 1/=".¹²³ Such 'visitors' were only welcome so long as they quickly left again. As they were never given more than one payment it would seem that they did so. The vestry would not have tolerated them remaining lest they gained the forty days residence qualification necessary to become the responsibility of the parish.

As in the Canongate some of the poor stood out above the rest in status. Chief among these were those from higher social groups who had fallen on hard times and travelled from parish to parish. Like the "poor distressed gentleman" given 2/6. in June 1693 they normally received higher than average relief, but like the other strangers they were expected to move on. Men of the cloth also featured in the accounts, such as the "distressed

clergyman" given 5/= and "Mr. Reynolds a minister" given 1/=.¹²⁴

Unfortunately for the parish, the churchwarden or overseer did not have the final say in who received relief. It was possible for the poor to appeal directly to the magistrates or the Lord Mayor. If successful the suppliant was awarded a pass which he could take round the parishes. 6d was "given to Thomas Keech recommended by Sir William Hooker" and Mr. Laming gave 2/= to "four men, a pass from the Lord Mayor, miserable".¹²⁵

If the parishes disagreed over the responsibility for a pauper the case would go before the Justices of the Peace. In 1699 the churchwardens of St. Stephen's Coleman Street, complained that

"Thomas Babington, son of John Babington (deceased) has come to their parish and is liable to become a charge. Margaret Thorpe swears he was born in St. Bartholomew's".¹²⁶

Cases such as this were comparatively common and would explain many of the churchwardens' visits to the courts.

As in Scotland, prisoners were expected to support themselves in prison. Many found this difficult and it was then up to the parish to support them. Mr. Laming sent 1/6 to "Mr. Ballamin in Wood St Counter Starving".¹²⁷ If it was the head of a family in prison, the wife and children also had to be supported. In these cases the vestry would endeavour to have the prisoner released.

"Paid in feer and double charges to bayle Williams out of the spunging house [private jail for debtors] when he had been 3 dayes and 2 nights - 10/6".¹²⁸

Though most relief was paid in cash directly to the needy

several other methods of payment were used. The parish had three alms houses which housed about twelve widows.¹²⁹ These at least insured that they had somewhere to live. In other cases the churchwarden would pay the rent which meant that the recipient could not spend the money on something else such as alcohol. It also implies that the person must have had some income with which to buy food. Another method of relief was the buying of bread, as when 2/6 was spent buying Mrs. Molum bread and water and 2/4 was "paid of victuals for Williams three children, four days".¹³⁰ Clothes were also bought and though these were usually for children that was not always the case - "Mrs. Horton in Bedlam a gowne, pettecout, 2 fine shifts a pair of shoes, stockings shoe strings and a girdle".¹³¹ In London 'sea-coals' had become the major source of heat and it was often given to the poor by the vestries.

"Mr. Darby and I was at Mr. Burges to consult where to git a place to lay Mr. Nelhams coles that he promised to buy for the use of the poor in hard weather that they might have them at prime cost. We went to Capt Smiths had a grant for a place gratis. But the maggot had done working in my parish. We never saw coles nor mony but it cost in all 2/6"¹³²

In November Mr. Laming must have been more successful as he "paid the cole heavers for shooting the coles 1/= and 4d in drink".¹³³ It was not unknown for the poor to get into debt. If a husband was put into debtors prison it was likely that both he and his family would end up on parish relief which led vestries to pay the debts themselves. Mr. Laming would appear to have had doubts about this type of relief, at least in certain cases.

£ 15
14
13
12
11
10
9
8
7
6
5
4
3
2
1

FIGURE 6.1

MONTHLY OUTLAYS BY THE TOWN OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S THE GREAT

ON ALL FORMS OF POOR RELIEF.

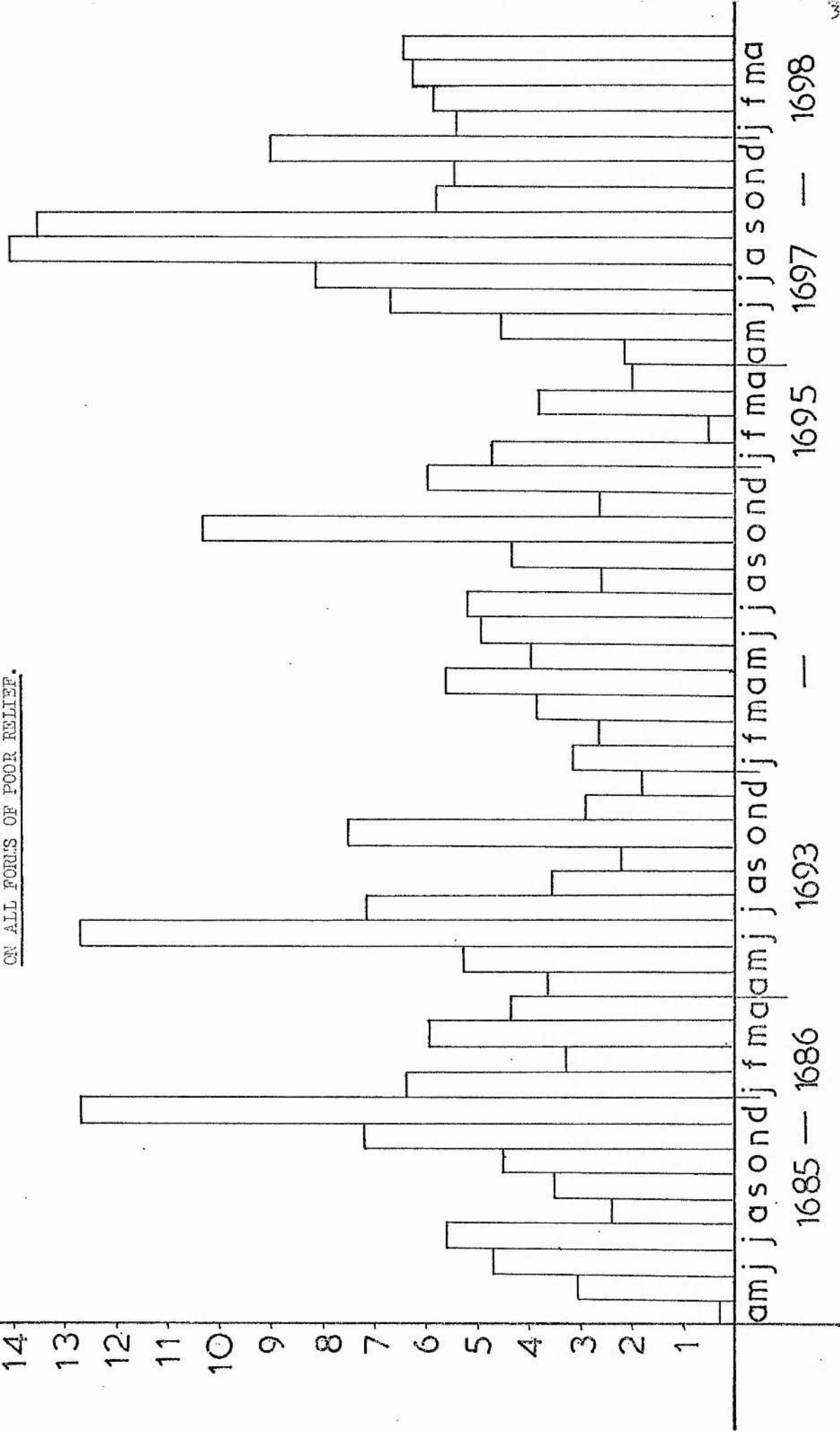
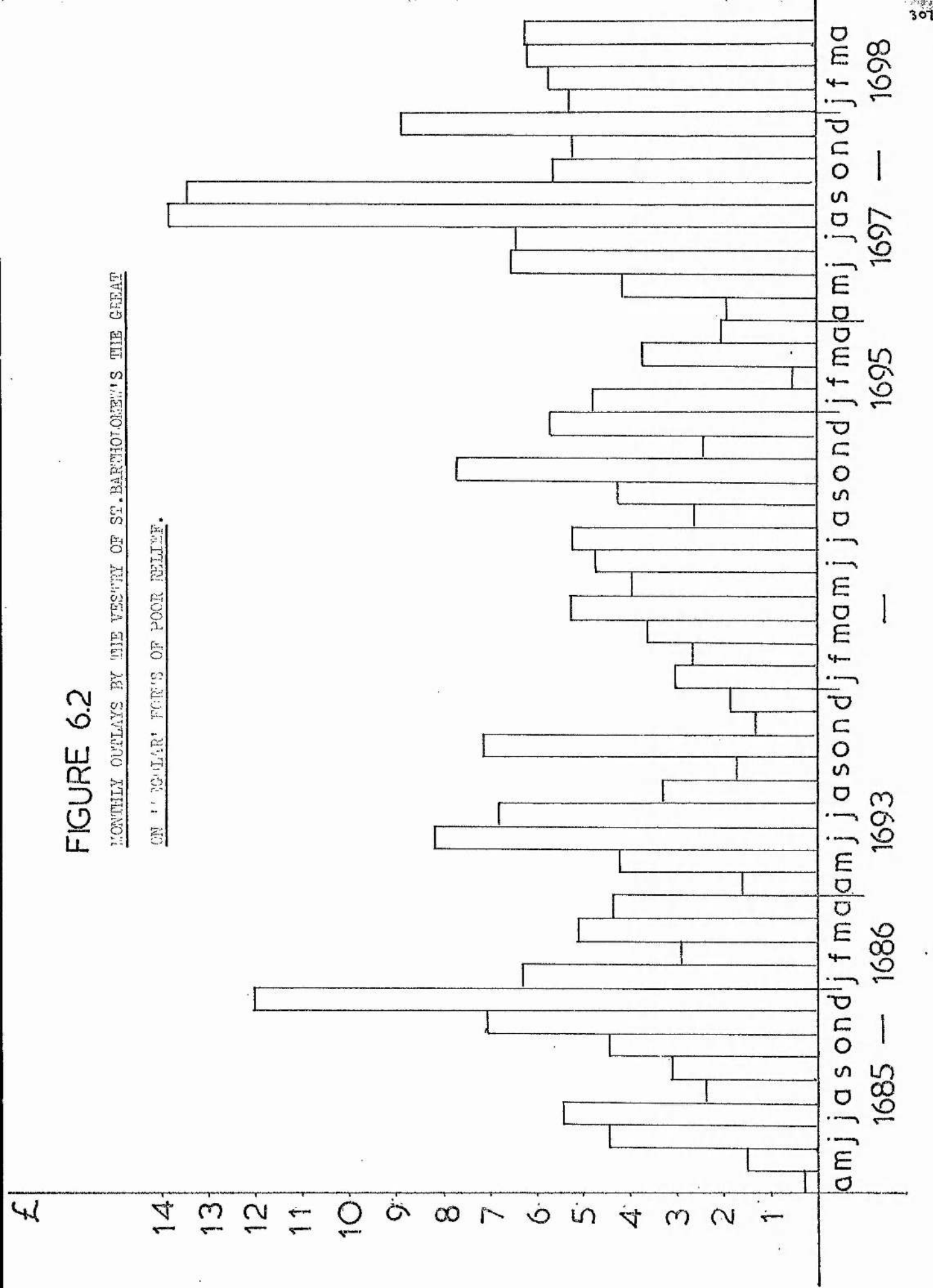


FIGURE 6.2

MONTHLY OUTLAYS BY THE VESTRY OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S THE GREAT

ON "REGULAR" FORMS OF POOR RELIEF.



"spent about Williams when his goods was seized on. I sent for several of you and you advised me to pay his $\frac{1}{2}$ years rent that his goods was seized for. But you will repent that advice".¹³⁴

Mr. Laming was obviously a better judge of character than his colleagues for two weeks later "Williams ran away [and] I spent several nights and took with me Mr. Lamb the constable and four others. It cost 3/11".¹³⁵ In some cases the parish would also provide school lessons as when it paid for the "Williams boyes riteing".¹³⁶ In one case the churchwarden fought a long legal battle on behalf of three orphan brothers for £70 plus interest owed them by John Dye and Robert Patterson.¹³⁷ The money was eventually used to put the children into apprenticeship.

It is difficult to build a pattern of expenditure for only four years (Figure 1). The problem was exacerbated by the number of large value, random payments such as apprenticeship fees and bequests awarded at certain times of the year.¹³⁸ Even if these are excluded the pattern is not very strong (Figure 2). All that can be said is that expenditure was generally at its highest when the historian would expect it to be - summer (just before the harvest) and winter. The pattern roughly agrees with that found in the Canongate. Unfortunately, with records for only four years it is not possible to decide whether expenditure was rising or falling.

E) Efficiency of Poor Relief

It has already been noted that many contemporary commentators and later historians believed that the English

system was superior to that of the Scots. In part Dorothy Marshall would disagree with this assessment as she believed that the main aim of the system since 1597 had been to provide employment and in this it had patently failed.

"Deserted by Church and King, when the prevailing creed was 'the devil take the hindmost', the role of hindermost nearly always fell to them [the poor]."¹³⁹

Indeed Dorothy Marshall's image of the poor was not rosy. Her judgement of the administrative machinery was low and she believed that the London officials were "noticeably corrupt".¹⁴⁰ Having looked at the machinery in action it is time to decide which view, if either, is correct.

It is not easy to estimate the number of poor in St. Bartholomew's. P. Slack believes that the respectable poor (children, old and ill) formed about 5% of the population which, calculated from the Marriage Tax, was seventy-nine souls.¹⁴¹ On top of this must be added the strangers and able-bodied poor who could form another 28% of the population - 518 people in total. This compares with the 200 to 1500 paupers in the Canongate calculated by a similar method or 319 to 872 souls given by the Poll Tax subtracted from the baptism ratio.¹⁴² If the Jones and Judges baptism ratio is used in St. Bartholomew's the Great in conjunction with the Marriage Tax, the result is 132 paupers. This can be increased to 420 if it is assumed that the Marriage Tax already listed the local poor.¹⁴³ Overall this suggests that the London parish was spending at least as much (if not slightly more) per pauper. The estimates are of course only

approximate and are subject to many pitfalls.

No attempt was made to help everyone. Not including the established regular poor, approximately 162 people received assistance in 1697 though this total may be too large due to double-counting. Strangers were the last priority. They received only the remainder after the local poor had been cared for. This was illustrated by the amount of aid given in 1697-1698 (Table 9). Though the number of strangers had risen dramatically, the amount of aid had not. In 1685, strangers were receiving an average of $3/9\frac{1}{2}$ each and by 1697 this had fallen to $8\frac{1}{2}d$.

Year	Amount	Number of Strangers
1685 - 6	5.15. 0	30
1693 - 4	1. 7. 0	8
1694 - 5	0. 9. 0	21
1697 - 8	3. 4. 4	90
	10.15. 4	149

Table 9 The Amount of Aid given to Strangers per annum

Relief was of use to individuals not to the poor as a whole. Gamer Taylor needed the support of the parish to have her arm set, and John Smithfield would not have lived without the parish paying for a nurse. Yet even those on relief were not treated over generously. The average sum awarded was $1/=-$ per week which was less than a labourer's daily wage. Relief was only meant

to supplement other income it was not meant to be sufficient - that would have encouraged idleness.¹⁴⁴

Dorothy Marshall was correct when she stated that though the system helped the impotent poor from day to day it did nothing to help the long term situation. However, in practice the laws could do little to solve unemployment - just like the Scottish system. It was merely a pain-killer designed to deaden the effects of unemployment. The poor laws were only intended to help the impotent poor and undoubtably this group did benefit. The idle poor could only be punished and discouraged from remaining in the parish by whipping, the stocks, imprisonment and threats. Interestingly none of these methods appears to have been used in St. Bartholomew's - perhaps a new phase of treatment had been ushered in by the late seventeenth century. The parish authorities resorted to the Acts of Settlement.¹⁴⁵ These attempted to define the parish which should have responsibility through birth, residence or payment of taxes. Most importantly they enabled the churchwardens and overseers to clear the parish of what they saw as its undesirable elements - those least capable of maintaining themselves. Thus the authorities spent a great deal of time and money in ensuring that the strange pauper left as soon as possible. Unfortunately the laws also raised barriers against the industrious lest they should become a burden in the future. The Acts of Settlement undoubtably added to the homeless poor but it was unlikely that they created the armies of paupers imagined by some historians.¹⁴⁶

The legislation did suggest that work should be created for

the unemployed and Dorothy Marshall is right in saying that in this field the laws totally failed. However, in blaming it on the inefficiency of the system, the corruption and disinterest of the parish officials, she may be missing the main point.¹⁴⁷ The creation of workhouses ignored economic reality. Where these enterprises started they usually destroyed the local industry with the result that the authorities were "enriching one poor man to starve another, putting a vagabond into an honest man's employment".¹⁴⁸ Producing the same good, the rise in supply led to a fall in price with the result that the local businessman had to lay-off staff and add to the level of unemployment. As in the Canongate it was with the education and apprenticeship of children that the law came closest to success. St. Bartholomew's was adept at finding places for children - always outside the parish. While these children had no guarantee of future employment they at least had a skill and a fighting chance.

The parish alms houses were a mixed blessing. While they provided shelter for twelve widows their benefactor had not left enough money for their repair. The parish was therefore forced to spend considerable sums on their maintainance. In 1694 alone the churchwarden spent £31.17. 6 on rebuilding them.

Despite these objections the poor relief system in St. Bartholomew's worked as well as it was expected to. Unlike many other London parishes it did not have to borrow from the wealthier vestries but was able to live off its own fat. Much depended on the churchwardens and their collectors as was illustrated by the rise in expenditure under Mr. Laming - undoubtedly

caused, at least in part, by his compassion.

Poor relief was not merely organised for the benefit of the poor. The tax payers were motivated by other factors as well. In part it was paid as a means of keeping the poor quiet - though whether this deserves the prominence it has been given in recent years is open to question. Certainly the prosperous would have wanted to stem the growing tide of paupers coming to London.¹⁴⁹ As with the craftsmen in the Canongate, the tradesmen of St. Bartholomew's the Great would have considered their 2/= or 38/= a year good value though with hindsight the historian can see that the poor were never likely to challenge the existing society.

Overall there is no evidence to justify E.M. Leonard's claim that the system in England was superior to that in Scotland. Indeed the striking feature was the similarity between the two. Both raised money by similar means to pay exactly the same groups of people. Both systems had in practice the same aims and both seem to have achieved roughly the same degree of success. At the same time Dorothy Marshall perhaps attacks the system too much. All would agree that the system was not perfect but given the resources and conditions of the seventeenth century not much more could be expected of it. There were dishonest officials but as has been illustrated there were also churchwardens and overseers who did their best to help the poor. One conclusion is very clear - "the distinguishing mark of the Poor Law administration, during these years, was the enormous gulf between theory and practice".¹⁵⁰

CHAPTER SEVEN SECULAR CONTROL IN ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S

(i) BACKGROUND

At the parish level, the officer responsible for law and order was the petty constable.¹ He was directly answerable to the magistrates for the maintenance of peace and stability. His duties included the enforcement of various regulative statutes, assisting the churchwardens,² enforcing trade regulations, the punishment of vagabonds and the execution of certain punishments. In all this he would be assisted by a 'watch' which was usually drawn from the less wealthy members of the parish.

St. Bartholomew's in fact had three constables - one for each of the precincts into which the parish was divided - Long Lane, Cloth Fair and Bartholomew's Close. 'Elections' for the posts took place in December each year. In theory the constables were supposed to come from the 'better sort' of inhabitant -

"A constable must be honest and just/
Have knowledge and good report/
And able to straine with body and braine/
Ells he is not fitting for".³

Unfortunately, as contemporary writers realised, "It is common course to put the office upon the poorest and weaker sort".⁴

As is shown below, this was not strictly true in St. Bartholomew's case. As in Terling, the constables were not the dregs of society they were often alleged to be.⁵ Selection was normally by rota or house-ownership but the wealthier inhabitants could escape by paying a fine.

Years Served	Immediate Fine	1	2	3	Total	Percentage
Tax						
Basic	13	15	1	1	30	60
£100	1	5	-	-	6	12
£200	1	-	-	-	1	2
£600	3	-	-	-	3	6
Unknown	2	8	-	-	10	20
Total	20	28	1	1	50	100
Percentage	40	56	2	2	100	

Table 1 The Wealth of those selected to serve as
Constable in St. Bartholomew's the Great, 1685-1695

While constables were not usually chosen from among the wealthiest inhabitants they were at least wealthy enough to pay taxes and to have an interest in the parish (Table 1). Those from the higher tax-paying groups fined immediately. Despite the poor reputation of the office, over half of those selected were willing to serve for one year, though very few would serve for longer. The most noticeable exception was Mr. Goodalle who served as constable for three years. Significantly he was an innkeeper - an occupation which technically debarred one from the post lest it was used to encourage trade.⁶ In some years it was more difficult to obtain willing recruits than others. In 1693 and 1694, for example, a total of eighteen residents were selected in an attempt to appoint a total of six constables.⁷

The constable was an amateur trying to maintain order for one year among his neighbours, friends and business associates. It was unlikely that he would have known the precise extent and limitations of his powers (despite the belief of one historian that such knowledge would be virtually inbred among parishioners long familiar with the office⁸). In any case the constable would often have been reluctant to use his authority lest it aggravated the situation or increased hostility against himself.⁹ Constables "were ordinary members of their communities, subject to the same prejudices, the strengths and weaknesses of their society".¹⁰ There must therefore be some doubt as to the effectiveness of their efforts.

In London, if the constable did decide to prosecute an offender there was a range of secular courts to which he could bring his presentment. The Lord Mayor normally sat at the Mansion House every day to hear minor cases, especially those dealing with civil matters.¹¹ Civil jurisdiction was also the chief concern of the 'Mayor's Court' though as yet the distinction that was to later grow between 'civil' and 'criminal' law had not matured.¹² This court normally met at least every three weeks though normally more frequently. The Lord Mayor, Recorder and at least nine Aldermen also held commissions as Justices of the Peace for London.¹³ As such they formed a Court of Quarter Sessions with commissions of Oyer and Terminer and Gaol Delivery.¹⁴ It was to this court meeting at least four times a year at Newgate or the Guildhall that the constables would present their serious cases. Presentments could be removed from this jurisdiction

by a writ of 'certiorari' to the Kings Bench. In the wards, the aldermen fulfilled some of the functions of 'single justices' though this would not have concerned St. Bartholomew's the Great because of its privileged status.

The surviving records present quite a good picture of crime and punishment in the parish. Session Books survive for the whole period. Written in Latin shorthand, they were only an 'aide-memoire' for the clerk and give only the barest details.¹⁵ More information can be gleaned from the Session Papers which recorded the confessions and statements of both the accused and the witnesses. Unfortunately comparatively few of these survive.¹⁶ The business of the inferior courts can be found in the 'Mansion House Justice Room Charge Books' and the Lord Mayor's Waiting Books.¹⁷ Though these are not available for the full period they do provide revealing evidence of the business presented to the Lord Mayor. Some additional information can be found in the published Calender of State Papers (Domestic) and in contemporary broadsheets.¹⁸

(ii) THE MANSION HOUSE JUSTICE ROOM AND LORD MAYOR'S COURT

The inhabitants of St. Bartholomew's the Great experienced the enforcement of justice and social regulation at two levels - the readily available Mansion House Justice Room supplemented by the Lord Mayor's Court and the more imposing Quarter Sessions manned by the Mayor, Recorder and in theory several aldermen. Before the transactions of these courts are studied it should be emphasised that litigation represented only a fraction of the law breaking and conflict that occurred in the City. It represented the failure rate of the informal regulation and peace-keeping efforts of the local community. Generally individuals were unwilling to approach the courts because of the expense, time, inconvenience and ill-feeling such an action generated. In studying the presentments before the courts it is useful to group them into certain general categories. First, there were the serious crimes in which the state would be interested such as murder, forgery and treason. Next was the much larger group of interpersonal offences, such as theft and assault. Perhaps the largest section, certainly at the lower courts was composed of regulative prosecutions over matters such as building new houses.

The most convenient court was the Justice Room for which records survive for 1686 to 1689 and 1692 to 1695. As with the other courts difficulties arise through the deliberate vagueness of some of the details. Procedure was vitally important and a guilty party could escape conviction if his

address, occupation or even name was recorded inaccurately in an indictment.¹⁹ To counter this the clerks used as wide meaning categories as possible. Thus a defendant would be described as 'of London' if there was any doubt about where he lived. Unfortunately this makes it very difficult to trace defendants and prosecutors to their parishes.

Type of Crime	Frequency of Crime
Major	2
Interpersonal	25
Regulative	27
Total	54

Table 2 Presentments before Mansion House Justice Room
referring to St. Bartholomew's the Great

The main business of the court was the enforcement of various regulative matters, many of which, in today's terms, were civil rather than criminal (see Table 3a).

Presentment	Number
Lotteries	1
Licences	4
Building	12
Pestering	3
Lost meat	1
"Idle and loose persons"	2
Wrongful imprisonment	1
Burial Regulations	1
Cheating on a bond	1
Low Wages	1
Total	27

Table 3(a) Regulative Presentments before Mansion House Justice Room

The major problem concerned the erection of new buildings. Angry neighbours unable to reach a compromise would take a stubborn builder to court complaining that he had broken one of the numerous building regulations. Mr. Nowell was

"erecting a building in Cloth Faire with timber which is dangerous in case of fire and contrary to the Act of Parliament for rebuilding the city . . . ".²⁰

Such breaches of regulation were often used as the excuse to take the matter to court when the real dispute was actually more personal. Thomas Hearne complained about William Reeves "makes use of his party wall and refuses to make satisfaction for the same . . . ".²¹ The mayor would normally send the 'viewers' to make a report and the building would be stayed in the mean time.

A further significant aspect of court business concerned the magistrates' worries about the influence of both coffee houses and inns. It was thought that they led to idleness and crime. Such establishments were therefore carefully licenced. Seven individuals obtained licences for coffee houses at the high cost of £40.²² Worried about treason the courts insisted that only "lycensed material" was to be read on the premises. George Webb who operated a coffee house was presented to the magistrates by William Tillot who complained that he was

"erecting and setting up a Copper in order to make a Common Brew House in an old timber house next adjoyning to the dwelling house of William Tillot . . . which will not only be very dangerous in case of fire and prejudicial to said William Tillot but also to the rest of the neighbours . . . ".²³

The hackney carriages in the streets were also the frequent targets of the constables for "annoying the street with . . . coach and horses" - the 'road hog' is not a modern phenomenon. Some of these charges were serious and led to cases in the Quarter Sessions.²⁴ Disturbances such as these were one of the few offences which regularly involved the constable. As the drivers came from different parishes, the law officers were not forced to worry about the consequences of their actions.

Presentment	Number
Assault	4
Theft	2
Stolen Goods	1
Suspicion	1
Moral Offence	1
Tumult	2
Good Behaviour	1
Bail	6
Promise to Prosecute	7
Total	25

Table 3(b) Interpersonal Presentments before the
Mansion House Justice Room

Some interpersonal disputes also come before the Lord Mayor. Of these, assault was the most common offence. Daniel Lane was charged with "drawing his sword in Bartholomew Fair and threatening to kill people".²⁵ In some cases suspicion

was enough, as with

"John Barnes being taken by the constable and watch in Cloth Fair at one o'clock this morning and being an idle and loose person and giving a no good account of himself com^{td} to Bridewell".²⁶

Other offences included petty theft, receiving stolen goods and producing bastard children. Cases of these types were uncommon compared to the rest of the city suggesting that the parish was either very law abiding or was capable of solving its own disputes. It is comparatively easy to find examples of the type of case not being presented in St. Bartholomew's in the presentments of other parishes.

"Upon hearing . . . Stephen Roberts and Ann his wife . . . and John Jenoway and Elizabeth his wife . . . said Elizabeth assaulting the said Stephen and throwing of water in his face and speaking scandalous and approbrious words of the said Ann vizt "that she had murdered a childe and that ye mother there of dyed of ye pox and that the said Ann pulled it in peices and murdered it in the house" and also spoke other approbious words of the said Ann".

The use of insults was a recognised ploy to gain the attention of the authorities over whatever was the real cause of the dispute.²⁷ In the above case Ann Roberts would be forced to go to court to clear her name in case people started to believe the rumours. In many cases popular opinion was more important than the truth. St. Bartholomew's also appears to have been free of "night-walkers" (prostitutes), or at least they were not presented, which is somewhat surprising when the reputation of the Fair is considered.²⁸

The few serious cases presented at this level were

immediately referred to the higher courts. Only two such entries referred to St. Bartholomew's the Great. In one a man was presented for the printing of seditious pamphlets and in the other a man was charged with clipping the coins of the realm.²⁹

One of the main reasons for the unpopularity of the courts was the expense. Once a case had reached a certain stage, the prosecutor had to enter a 'recognizance' that he would continue the case to the end. This was to insure that the court's time was not wasted by the parties coming to a private agreement. The amount was normally fixed at £20 in case of default - a large sum of money.³⁰ As in Scotland, it was not considered the duty of the State to support people in jail. The only alternative to supporting oneself in prison was to find bail - a process which took up a good deal of the court's time.³¹

The Lord Mayor also dealt with a great deal of business connected with the Guilds, though none of this concerned St. Bartholomew's the Great due to its status as a liberty. The most common complaint was that tradesmen were refusing to "take up the livery" as the honour involved too many responsibilities and duties. That the power of the Guilds was on the wane was illustrated by the fact that the Mayor normally found in favour of the defendants.

The Mayor's Court met less regularly than its companion and appears to have been less busy.

Presentments	Number
Major	-
Interpersonal	11
Regulative	19
Total	30

Table 4 Presentments before the Mayor's Court

Again the majority of presentments involved regulative matters.

Presentments	Number
Building	3
Taxes	1
Economic	3
Lotteries	1
Annoying the Streets	9
Religion	1
Pass	1
Total	19

Table 5(a) Regulative Presentments recorded in
the Lord Mayor's Waiting Book

These were, not surprisingly, very similar to those which appeared in the Mansion House Justice Room. The main offenders were the hackney carriage drivers who "pestered" the streets with their horses. The court also dealt with building disputes,

such as the complaint by Joseph Darines that

"Thomas Ford is erecting a building in Cloth Fair near the Comptly House where formerly an old one stood, but goes beyond the foundation of the said old building and very much encroaches on the street and common passage and doth also build it with firr timber which said building (it finished) will not be only dangerous in case of fire but will also obscure and darken the ancient lights of the said Joseph Darines house . . . "³²

As in the Mansion House the normal procedure was to stay the building until a report could be made.

The records include one resident who challenged his tax assessment and succeeded in having his contribution reduced. Augustus Crow refused to pay the Scavengers' Roll because "the assessment made is too great and equall with the rest of his neighbours". The Lord Mayor agreed and ordered the churchwardens and scavenger to reduce it.³³

Presentments	Number
Impersonating an Officer	1
Robbery	3
Assault	1
Riot / Tumult	2
Promise to Prosecute	4
Total	11

Table 5(b) Interpersonal Presentments recorded in
the Lord Mayor's Waiting Book

The small number of presentments, especially of interpersonal disputes, make it difficult to draw any firm conclusions. The major form of interpersonal dispute was robbery (three offences). In one case the guilty party tried to entice the victim's apprentice into carrying out the actual theft.³⁴ In another incident a bookshop was robbed and an inventory of the stolen books was listed.³⁵

The Bible
 Marriage Alamd (Playbook)
 Orbis Terre (Mappes)
 Court of Justice by Typus Phillips
 Book of Songs to Don Quixote
 A Reason by Sir George Mackenzie
 Quacks, Doctors and Fancies

Table 6 Books Stolen from a Bookshop owned
by Nathaniel Dancer

It was not necessary to be charged with a specific crime, the records of both courts show that suspicion was enough. John Collwell "an idle pilfering boy . . . was committed to the poultry Compter" merely because he was "suspected to be a pickpocket". The opinion of others was vitally important in deciding a person's guilt.³⁶

Despite the evidence of the Lord Mayor's Court, assault was also common and could be serious. During the Fair of 1685

"Robert Nicholls and Thomas Nutter [made] a riot with others in Bartholomew Faire wherein severall

persons were rescued from out of the custody of one Jepson and others of Sheriffs Officers and the said Jepsons and others much wounded who are thereby in great danger of their lives".³⁷

The details of this case even reached the newsletters which reported Robert Nicholls and two others were charged with

"Assaulting on August 30 the Body of Edward Herring with a sword, price 2/=-, giving him a mortal wound on which the said Herring died . . . The prisoner Nicholas pretended he did not draw his Sword himself, but the Scabbard was drew from his sword by another : upon which Nichols and Compton were found guilty".³⁸

In such cases the accused could expect little mercy as the law was harsh in the protection of its servants. Such protection was necessary as the law officers were quite often defied - in 1685, for example, a man was found impersonating a constable.³⁹

The court was very much concerned with the administration of the capital - insuring the streets were cleaned, that the pavers did their job and that residents did not dispose of their rubbish in public places. St. Bartholomew's was rarely mentioned in this respect suggesting that it was able to make its own arrangements. In both courts the parish was also notably absent from the presentments concerning lax sexual manners, swearing or drinking - matters of great concern to the magistrates. It seems unlikely that the inhabitants of St. Bartholomew's had superior morals to the rest of London so the parish officials appear to have been presenting comparatively fewer cases. Of course they could have been presenting them to the ecclesiastical courts but the evidence seems to suggest that these had continued in decline despite their revival in

1660.⁴⁰ The small number of presentments could have been due to the efficiency of the parish's own informal machinery, a reluctance among the officials to go before the courts lest it weakened the parish's privileges or even to a lack of interest.

(iii) THE COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS

The London Sessions differed slightly from those in the counties. They normally had fewer magistrates on the Bench and the presence of the Recorder made the court more professional.⁴¹ The court generally met more frequently thereby insuring quicker justice. The court dealt with all its business at one sitting first under a commission of Oyer and Terminer and then Gaol Delivery. The presentments in Table 7 were probably a minimum as the parish of residence was not always given.

Presentments	Number
Major	2
Interpersonal	48
Regulative	18
Not Known	30
Total	98

Annual Average = 8 cases

Table 7 Presentments before the Quarter Sessions
concerning St. Bartholomew's the Great

As in the inferior courts, presentments to the Sessions represented the failure to reach a compromise. Like the constables, the magistrates' main concern was to preserve harmony,

"justices and juries involved were interested not so much in the invariable application of the law as in the reconciliation of disputes

and the minimising of disturbance."⁴²

In contrast to the junior courts the majority of cases were not regulative in nature but interpersonal. This was to be expected at a court dealing with offences of a more serious nature. Yet it was in contrast to the rural parish of Terling where between 1680 and 1699, 84.6% of presentments to Sessions and Assizes were regulative.⁴³ The difference can probably be explained by the absence of convenient inferior courts in Terling.

Presentments	Number
Theft	21
Assault	14
Misbehaviour	1
Bastardy	1
Riot	2
Deception	2
Escape	1
Suspicion	1
Bonds to prosecute	5
Total	48

Annual Average = 4 cases

Table 8 Interpersonal Presentments before
the Court of Quarter Sessions

A total of ninety-eight cases over twelve years did not represent a great deal of business. It is obvious that the inhabitants of St. Bartholomew's did not often need to use

the legal system. However, the total is much higher than that found in Terling.⁴⁴ In that rural parish there were only twenty-six cases in twenty years for a population one third the size. Thus the rural parish had an average of presentments which was less than half of St. Bartholomew's. Yet the average for the urban parish was still low and supports the impressions gained from the inferior courts that the informal machinery in the parish worked quite efficiently.

The most common interpersonal dispute concerned crimes against property, though those against the person were almost as frequent. Both goods and specie were popular targets - goods valued at 8/=-, good valued at £8, "five and twenty yards of holland cloth", and "three casks of soap".⁴⁵ The thieves were normally either servants or poor. Of the fourteen guilty parties who can be traced in all the records, only three can be confirmed as servants from St. Bartholomew's. The remaining eleven appear to be strangers and only two of them were described as tradesmen. This agrees with other studies which indicate that crimes of an economic nature were normally undertaken by the poorer sections of the community.⁴⁶ The fact that the thieves were either strangers or were from the lower levels of society helps to explain why so many were prosecuted. The victims would have felt no obligation towards them and a successful prosecution would have had few repercussions in the community. The hostility of a servant would not have perturbed a successful tradesman in the same way that the ill-feeling of a neighbour would have. This

suggests that two levels of society existed in the parish. There was the settled community of tradesmen and employers in which there would probably have been little anonymity. The relatively few numbers in the group, enclosed in a physically small and partially isolated area, would have insured that people knew most of their peers. Below this group was the floating population of servants and poor. This group would probably have been more anonymous because of its size and because members were continually moving on. The lack of anonymity in St. Bartholomew's may not have been common in the rest of the city. The isolation created by the gates probably made the parish a special case.

The brevity of the Session Books does not permit the researcher to enter into great detail about the crimes. Fortunately more can be learnt from the Session Papers. Katheren Davis, a widow, confessed to

"being a servant about three dayes to Mr. John Blechington and his wife . . . who being persons dim lighted did on the 8th instant in the evening of the same day when they were out, alone in the house and confessed to take away eight Guineys in Gold, three pounds nine shillings and six pence in moneys numbered and a little red trunk with writeings . . . "47

Elizabeth Bird tried to defend herself in a case of theft by saying

"she runaway from him [her brother] for feare he should beat her (haveing threatened her before) and run up staires into the room where she was taken".

Unfortunately witnesses claimed that there was a "board broke downe neare the doore where she gott in" and that Elizabeth was

in a closet with a "bundle of goods".⁴⁸

In 1685 the parish church itself was robbed. One Robert Bennison was later arrested and after naming the rest of the gang went on to describe the 'fence'. John Whitwood had contacts with several thieves, highwaymen and clippers of money and was a man who even stole from other thieves or reported them for rewards.⁴⁹ Thodorus Drage described the technique of a shoplifter when he recorded how

"John Cooper, the prisoner, and a woman that he said was his wife came into his shop in Cloth Faire and asked for a piece of stuff and where very difficult to please. Eventually he sent his wife onto his Milliners and when she left Drage noticed a piece of the stuff was missing and believes that the woman took it with the assistance of the man".⁵⁰

This would seem to indicate that there may have been a real criminal subculture in London. The examples above show that criminals were more organised and ambitious than studies such as that of Terling indicate was the case in the country.⁵¹

Though sixteenth and seventeenth century broadsheets claimed that such a subculture existed, their assertions must be treated with caution and the discovery of evidence to support them is very interesting.

Despite the comparative frequency of accusations of assault few details survive though one case did involve an attack upon an officer in the course of his duty.⁵² Though law officers were popular targets, they themselves had to be very careful when they enforced the law. John Asterly one of the parish constables, was fined 3/4 for assaulting Thomas Herrick

in the course of arresting him for pestering the streets.⁵³

Any officer who was over zealous in the performance of his duties was liable to such accusations, even from friends and neighbours who thought he was carrying things too far. Though only a few cases can be studied it appears that those involved were of a higher social standing than was the case with crimes against property. The five guilty parties who can be traced included a constable, a weaver, a draper and a bookseller. Motives were not recorded but most cases were not pre-meditated.⁵⁴

They probably reached the Sessions because, as when Edward Desborough assaulted George Berton, the prosecutors appear to have been from different parishes and the normal, informal machinery did not operate. In general this also agrees with the other studies undertaken in this area.⁵⁵ It should not be assumed that there was no violence between members of the lower orders. However, poor men who fell out probably did not take the case to court as their adversaries could not afford to pay damages.

The remaining offences in this group were very similar to those found before the inferior courts. Sexual offences appear to have been uncommon. If the church courts expressed little interest in such matters it would have been surprising if the secular courts had. The bastardy case probably only appeared because of its connection with the poor laws. As the child involved was likely to be a burden on a parish and there was a question of 'settlement', the matter was dealt with by the secular magistrates rather than the ecclesiastical courts

which would normally have jurisdiction. Again suspicion was enough to bring someone before the magistrates and prosecutors had to provide guarantees that they would continue the case. Only two people were prosecuted for rioting or breaking the peace which again suggests that the parish officials were able to deal with such matters without the help of the courts.

Presentments	Number
Licences	3
Incontinence	1
Annoying the Street	10
Feloniously Marrying	1
Settlement	2
Economic	1
Total	18

Table 9 Regulative Presentments before
the Quarter Sessions

Once again the carriage drivers formed the majority of defendants in regulative disputes (Table 9). They alone accounted for over 50% of such cases. In the narrow streets of London the comparatively large carriages would have been a serious danger to the pedestrians. Despite the parish's freedom from the Guilds, porters who worked without licences were prosecuted though the records do not make clear who brought the presentments.⁵⁶ A few cases of a vaguely moral nature - incontinence and feloniously marrying - were presented but

overall the court seemed little interested in such matters. The churchwardens brought settlement cases before the court. Those recorded here were only a few in number and the rest were dealt with by individual justices. The officials of St. Sepulchre's complained that Eliz Merry, the widow of Thomas Merry, and her children had come to the parish without giving notice in writing. The wardens knew a great deal about the family -

"the said Thomas, his wife and John his son . . . did rent a house in Cloth Faire . . . for about halfe a yeare and payed Scott and lott . . . he removed to Clerkenwell and continued there about a yeare but payd neither Scott or Lott . . . returned to Cloth Faire . . . there stayed two years . . . but did not gain any legal settlement".⁵⁷

The magistrates agreed that the family should be the responsibility of the churchwardens of St. Bartholomew's.

Only two really serious cases appeared from St. Bartholomew's the Great. One was a case of homicide in which the accused was cleared and the other concerned coin-clipping. In 1693 Anthony Dunn, Anthony St. Leger, Mr. Baldrey, Peter Reynolds, his wife and William Streton

"noticed that Dr. Best was a clipper, they went to his lodgings and finding the said Doctor in his bed chamber they searched him and in his pocket they found some clipt money which he would have mixt with broad money and in one of the backrooms belonging to the Doctor wherein was a closet they found 2 payre of sheeves severall files some clippings and some filerings and two rubbing leathes and upon the floor under the table where he wrought they found a peece of clipping and on the Table where he used to worke there lay a deale of fild dust of silver . . . ".⁵⁸

The presenters were unlikely to be acting as outraged bystanders

but had probably had the clipped coins paid to them.

Though the good doctor denied the accusations he was found guilty and was executed.⁵⁹

A large number of presentments cannot be classified. In two cases the trial took place at the Middlesex Sessions presumably as the crime took place in that county. In another two cases were called up to the King's Bench by "Certiorari" where the indictments were probably declared invalid. The reasons for this action were not recorded. In almost half the cases (42%) the presenters defaulted or the accused was exonerated. Though not recorded there were a number of possible reasons for these actions. The jury may have refused to accept the case or a mistake may have been made by the defence which invalidated the presentment. The most likely reason, however, was that the two parties had managed to reach a private settlement under the threat of expense and time wasting which a full trial would have imposed.

Place of Residence of those appearing in Court	Number
Prosecutor from St. Bartholomew's	34
Defendant from St. Bartholomew's	19
Both from St. Bartholomew's	5
Not Known	31

Table 10 The Place of Residence of those appearing
at the Quarter Sessions, 1685-1695

The effectiveness of the informal machinery of arbitration and threats was plainly visible from the indictments. It was extremely rare for both the prosecutor and defendant to come from the same parish (excluding building disputes). This reflected the reluctance to prosecute neighbours when it could lead to further ill-will, perhaps create a feud and be expensive. Those purely internal parish disputes which did appear before the magistrates were of a more serious nature - one case was referred to King's Bench, one concerned clipping the coinage while another was assault. For some of these crimes (certainly clipping) the informal apparatus was inappropriate and the law had to take its course. It is very noticeable that the constables were unwilling to present their own parishioners. To have done so would have been to lay themselves open to revenge presentments in future years.

(iv) PUNISHMENTS

The variety of punishments used by all the courts was broadly similar though those of the inferior courts were normally less severe - befitting the lesser seriousness of the crimes. The results, especially for the Quarter Sessions, are very interesting as the information is of a higher quality than that usually available. At both the Mansion House and the Lord Mayor's Court the commonest punishment appears to have been a period of detention. The length of the sentence was never recorded but it would not have been for a long period. Prisons were not seen as places for long periods of detention as the prisoner was expected to support himself and few could do this for more than a limited period. Surprisingly only three fines were recorded in the inferior courts - perhaps a reflection on the economic status of the majority of the defendants. The fines could be for significant amounts such as the £40 Jonathan Relwood was fined two days after being arrested on suspicion.⁶⁰ A number of cases were referred to the more imposing surroundings of the Quarter Sessions. This could be achieved on the initiative of either the magistrates or the parties involved in the dispute. It is difficult to decide what the grounds were for such an action as the cases varied from annoying the streets in a carriage through to assault.⁶¹

The Quarter Sessions presented a more varied pattern. Though some criminals were committed to prison this normally only involved those who refused to pay their fines, such as

William Cole who was committed until he paid £10.⁶² The use of fines was much more common at this court and accounted for almost 50% of the recorded punishments. The amount of the fine could vary considerably - Thomas Hall was fined 12d for assault, Michale Pardour 6/8 for misbehaviour, Henry Timstall 20/= for assault and Michael Blyth was fined £6.13.4d for insulting a constable.⁶³ Obviously there were no hard and fast rules for deciding how much should be levied unless it was laid down by statute.

The punishments for theft reflected that draconian laws would not always be enforced by juries. Though this problem was not yet serious it was to grow during the eighteenth century as more and more offences became capital crimes.⁶⁴ In an effort to insure that obviously guilty parties did not escape because a jury did not want the death sentence imposed, lesser charges would be introduced. The punishment for theft of goods worth more than 24/= was much more severe than that imposed on lesser thefts. Anna Jones was accused of stealing goods worth 24/= but the jury found her guilty of stealing goods worth only 9/=. ⁶⁵ Such leniency was quite common.⁶⁶ Apart from fines, theft was often punished by branding, which also facilitated future identification. Elizabeth Bird was "burnt in arm" as were five other thieves during this period.⁶⁷ Anna Deane was perhaps slightly more fortunate and was only "whipped and realesed".⁶⁸

There were other ways to escape serious punishment. William Brathwayte, guilty of theft agreed to "be transported

to where the court decides"⁶⁹ and was then branded, set free and left to make his way out of the country. John Edwards was able to make a similar agreement with the court in 1694.

There is no record of where the criminals were expected to go but it could well have been the American Colonies. Both men had been found guilty of substantial robberies and escaped quite lightly.

For some crimes such agreements could not be reached. Dr. John Best was found guilty of 'clipping' and could expect little leniency. It was a threat to the economic stability of the nation, a serious offence to a Bench composed of prosperous craftsmen and merchants. Tampering with the coinage was also an assault upon the image of the monarch and as such was 'lese-majesty'. Dr. Best was thus sentenced "to be dragged by hurdle to the gallows of Tilbourne and executed".⁷⁰

Naturally not all punishments were so extreme. Several guilty parties were merely bound over to keep the peace as was the case with James Dover, a printer in Bartholomew Close.⁷¹ Nor should it be assumed that all defendants were found guilty. One of the incentives to reach an agreement privately was that a prosecutor could spend large sums on a case and then find the verdict go against him.⁷² John Claxton was found not guilty of murder and set free while Thomas Arnold was found innocent of theft.⁷³ However, while some defendants were fortunate, the majority of cases that went the full length were usually found in favour of the prosecutor.

Overall the picture of the courts was not as harsh as

many believe. The magistrates often favoured the accused until they were found guilty. The strict procedure of the courts also often worked in favour of the defendant. Equally inaccurate would be a belief that it was only the poor or unemployed who passed through the courts. Over 40% of the defendants paid at least minimum taxes while some, such as Peter Briggins, paid considerably more.⁷⁴ Though the occupation or status of only forty-six defendants is known a survey of them is quite revealing. Over 40% of all defendants were craftsmen or parish officers. Obviously lawlessness was not confined to the lower classes. That the 'middling sort' had been capable of 'delinquency' earlier in the century has been commented on by J.A. Sharpe.⁷⁵ As he has also discovered, those who held the office of constable were not immune from disorderly conduct. Seven defendants had held that office in St. Bartholomew's while another four were members of the vestry. Sharpe's study was for a period over half a century earlier (1600 to 1640) and it is interesting to discover that attitudes had not yet changed. However, the majority of offences perpetrated by the 'middling sort' were regulative - illegal building and low wages for example.

Financial Status of Defendants	Number	Occupation or Status of Defendants	Number
Minimum Tax Payers	26	Craftsmen	29
Higher Tax Payers	5	Poor / Servants	11
Not Known or Poor	45	Vestrymen	5
		Parish Officers	1
		(No. of above who were constables)	(7)
Total	76	Total	46

Table 11 The Status of Defendants who appeared before the Courts

With the exception of assault, this group did not become involved in serious crime. This suggests that there may have been a type of double standard - it was allowable to 'bend' the law to a certain point but not beyond. The ruling elite may have been becoming more distant from the majority of inhabitants in terms of wealth and behaviour but they obviously still had some way to go.⁷⁶

(v) BARTHOLOMEW FAIRE AND A VARIETY OF FANCIES

St. Bartholomew's Fair posed a special problem for the agents of law enforcement for two weeks every year. For the last two weeks of August the parish was the destination of all types of person -

"High and Low, Rich and Poore, from cities, towns and countreys, of all sects, Papist, Atheists, Anabaptists, and Brownists: and of all conditions, good and bad, vertuous and vitious, Knaves and fooles, Cuckolds and Cuckold makers, Bauds, and Whores, Pimpes and Panders; Rogues and Rascalls, the little Lourd-one and the witty wanton".⁷⁷

The Court of Pie-Powder was specifically charged with preserving law and order at the Fair but it only sat for the three official days. The court had a good reputation for transacting business quickly and fairly.⁷⁸ It has been suggested that the court employed its own officers to apprehend offenders. They were certainly kept busy - "there were about Eighty persons apprehended by the Peace Officers there, in acts of Lewdness, Disorder and Debauchery".⁷⁹

During the Fair much of the business of the lower courts from the parish of St. Bartholomew's related to the festival. The courts were keen to insure that the lotteries remained in the hands of "loyeall indignt officers" though they were probably unsuccessful.⁸⁰ It was equally difficult to control the building of booths during the Fair and to insure that no one escaped from paying the necessary fees. One gentleman was committed for "illegally raising a booth" in August 1686, while another met a similar fate for "letting out land and stalls at St. Bartholomew Faire illegally".⁸¹ The main problems were

created by thieves and riotous persons such as "Jacomb Nutt an idle person taken upon the top of a booth in Bartholomew Faire, the last night with intent as is suspected to have pilfered something".⁸² Though only five such offences were recorded many more would have been dealt with at the Court of Pie Powder. Little wonder then that many law-abiding citizens tried to have the duration of the Fair limited to the legal three days.

"Upon complaint of several eminent citizens, and other inhabitants of this city that the continuing of Bartholomew's Faire longer than three days is contrary to the Charter of the City. And the permitting severall obscene plays and interludes there is perverting the first designe of the said ffaire, an incouragement to all manner of Lewdnesse and debauchery to the great corruption of youth to the dishonour of Almighty God and the scandall of this City".⁸³

Alas such efforts were to have little effect despite the support of the City as the fair was the responsibility of the superior of St. Bartholomew's.

The courts so far described were but a handful of those which had jurisdiction in London. Sometimes the other courts intruded on life in the parish. One such incident was recorded in the churchwarden's Accounts.

"Paid at the house where the Jury
Drank when they sat upon Aldersey
that cut his throat - 6/=".⁸⁴

The Coroner's Court met to consider the cause of death in cases where there was some reason to doubt natural causes.⁸⁵ The case above is the only surviving record of it having sat in the parish between 1673 and 1782.

The Calender of State Papers show that even the highest

authority was willing to interfere in the affairs of the parish, though the causes were slightly more exotic.

"Two warrants to Thomas Atterbury to search for, seize and apprehend Joseph Lock of Bartholomew Close, London and James Hooper, suspected guilty of treasonable practices, and to bring them before Lord [Middleton]"

"The Earl of Sutherland to Thomas Smith messenger. Warrant to search for the Earl of Macclesfield in all suspected places and particularly in the house of John Wilcox in St. Bartholomews Close, London".⁸⁶

The better parish residents could also use the authority of the monarch and his ministers in their own favour -

"to the Duke of Leinster. Captain Lowther, a captain in Colonel Hales Regiment, having pressed a servant belonging to the beaver, Mr. Kempton, out of his shop in Long Lane, I desire you will send to the said captain and order him to discharge the mans servant".⁸⁷

This interference was not unique to London, it has already been shown in an earlier chapter that the Privy Council in Scotland was willing to become involved in parish or burgh affairs.⁸⁸

It is not easy to undertake a comparison between the London and Edinburgh judicial systems. The Canongate, because of its burgh status, had a much more compact system with only treason outside the jurisdiction of its own courts. Comparison is further complicated by the poor survival of legal records for the Scottish parish.

However it is obvious that the prime aim in both parishes was to preserve 'gude nychtburheid' and to keep the peace in the community even if it meant dealing more lightly with offenders than the law demanded. In general, the cases which did appear before the magistrates were similar. In both parishes robbery

was the major 'interpersonal' offence with assault quite close behind. Neither parish had to suffer much serious crime within their bounds. In both parishes the magistrates were expected to undertake certain administrative duties such as insuring that the roads were paved and that the scavengers did their job. One area in which the two groups did differ slightly was in religious affairs. In London, though some cases of this nature did appear before the courts, there does not seem to have been the same intimacy between the church and the magistrates. Perhaps the magistrates were not encouraged to become members of vestries.

In London the magistrates were more remote - inevitably so when the size of the city is considered. In the Canongate the magistrates were members of the burgh. In a small community they would have understood and known many of the residents. The problems of the burgh were their problems and it was in the magistrates' interests to solve them. The same was not true in London where the magistrates would only rarely be dealing with their own parish. To them St. Bartholomew's the Great was only one amongst over one hundred parishes. Thus there would not be the same identity of interests and justice would have been more impersonal. Yet despite the obvious differences between the two cities it is remarkable that the practice of justice was so similar in both.

CHAPTER EIGHT ST. BRIDE'S - THE FABRIC OF THE PARISH

(i) THE FABRIC OF THE PARISH

The parish of St. Bride's was situated to the south of the walls of Dublin.¹ It was centred upon what was probably one of the oldest churches in Dublin and its records extend back to 1180. In 1682 the neighbouring parishes of St. Michael le Pole and St. Steven were merged with St. Bride's and their churches were "for ever hereafter closed up and preserved from all common and profane uses".² The church of St. Bride's was itself rebuilt in 1685 having fallen into a very dangerous state of disrepair. Covering thirty-seven acres the parish was much larger than St. Bartholomew's, but like both that parish and the Canongate, lay outside the protection of the city's fortifications.³ Unlike the parishes in Edinburgh and London it did not possess any special privileges or rank - it was just an ordinary parish with no measure of independence. As such it was the only parish of the three which was not in conflict with the city government.

The topography of St. Bride's was much more complicated than that of either the Canongate or St. Bartholomew's.⁴ There was a network of over twenty-three streets and lanes and this total was continually growing. In 1676 William Street was opened and ten years later Sir William Domville was to build Peter Street. All of this building was carried out by private enterprise and not by the City Corporation. Details on most of the streets can be found in "Cuttings and notes on the streets"

collected by R.D. Walshe.⁵ Lacking walls and gates, St. Bride's did not have an easily visible boundary - it was just part of the main city.⁶

The quantity and quality of the housing has been estimated at various times and from various sources. In the 1660's there were around 316 to 340 residences.⁷ By the 1690's these had grown in number to approximately 395 to 425 houses.⁸ Thus the parish seems to have been slightly larger than St. Bartholomew's and about the same size as the Canongate. Sir William Petty was of the opinion that the inhabitants were "more crowded and straitened in their housing than those of London"⁹, which would imply that the houses were smaller. It has, however, been estimated that the parish had an average of 4.9 hearths per house in 1695.¹⁰ This was certainly higher than the average in the Canongate and would also have been a high average for a London parish - judging by Power's work for East London.¹¹ It would appear then that St. Bride's defied Petty and had a more 'substantial' type of house than either of the other two parishes - though his strictures may work in other Dublin parishes. The majority of the houses (80%) were in good condition while only 15% were lying empty or waste.¹² Again this counters Petty's opinion that "the people of Dublin are worse housed and the houses worse hearthed than at London, which is too visible".¹³ The description of one house does survive.¹⁴ It was a "timber and brick house slated, two stories high in Sheep Street". It had a frontage of 27 feet 6 inches and was 16 to 17 feet deep with five rooms, four chimneys, a

garret with back side and garden. This seems much the same as the houses described in St. Bartholomew's the Great. Nor does Petty's claim that Dublin was more crowded than London stand up to scrutiny in this parish. Even taking the highest estimate for houses in the parish (425) this was only 11.5 houses per acre compared with 37.8 houses per acre in St. Bartholomew's the Great. If St. Bride's was akin to Shadwell (13.8 per acre) it may be that fields forced the houses more closely together than the average suggests.¹⁵ However, the presence of open space is denied by a claim that the parish could find nowhere to plant 200 trees - obviously the vast majority of the parish was built upon.¹⁶

Contemporary opinions are few and much cited in publications from the nineteenth century. On the whole contemporaries were very favourable. It was thought that "for upwards of two centuries St. Bride's Street was the centre of wealth and fashion".¹⁷ It is possible that the writers were romantically searching for better days and seeing history through rose-tinted spectacles.

"These old streets and houses, now given over to all the filth and misery of the most aggravated slumdom, were in the 17th century, bright with the glitter of fashion, and from the houses of those streets, the fair ladies of dead days waved their scented greetings to William of Orange . . ."¹⁸

Though the streets may have been bright with glitter, like those in the other capitals they were also covered in filth.

"Not only were the streets rough and uneven and, in wet weather deep in mud, they were also dirty by reason of the inadequate scavenging system".¹⁹

As was illustrated in the Canongate, public hygiene was one of the major problems facing town councils.²⁰ Like Edinburgh, the duty was farmed out to private initiative. In the case of Dublin this was to one John Knox who "was bound to cleane the severall streets of the citty and suburbs, and carry away the filth as formerly" and was also responsible for "procurring scavengers at his own charge and hazard".²¹ These scavengers were probably a supplement to those employed by the parishes. The city also used a Corn Toll to help pay for the public scavenger though by 1695 the amount raised was no longer enough. The city itself was not wealthy enough to pay the scavenger so the Toll was increased to a 'pottle' and half-pint of wheat.²² Despite this they do not appear to have executed their tasks efficiently. In July 1691 the Corporation decided to fine the scavengers as they found "the streetes so foule that there is absolute necessity to have them cleaned speedily".²³ Part of the problem was caused by the pigs which ran free in the streets. As a deterrent against this, anyone was allowed to kill them as "most of the persons of note and quality doe dwell in the same [suburbs] and are much offended".²⁴ The problem of cleaning the streets would have been made more difficult by the way in which inhabitants built on them -

"Severall inhabitants . . . greatly encroached in the streets by bulkes stalls, cellars and staires into them, by which the publick streets and passages are made more narrow and incommodius . . ." ²⁵

The arrangements for keeping the streets were clearly stated. The inhabitants were expected to sweep the streets in front of

their houses on Thursday and Saturday evenings while the scavengers did it on Monday and Wednesday mornings. If a scavenger had to do the work of an inhabitant the latter was fined 6d. Before the scavengers started on a street they were to blow their horns

"to the end the inhabitants might have timely notice to bring out the dirt of their severall houses to throw into the scavengers carts, the inhabitants paying for them carrying the same away . . . ".²⁶

It would be surprising if the arrangements worked any more efficiently in Dublin than they did elsewhere.

The streets had to be kept in good repair as well as clean. It would appear that every inhabitant was responsible for that piece of street in front of his house. Those who neglected their responsibilities were prosecuted by the magistrates.

"The pavement of the street beside and opposite the land of Richard Hinsh in the parish of St. Bride's Dublin is very ruinous for want of repairs and cannot be traversed by the Kings subjects. Richard Hinsh ought to repair the said street beside and opposite his land".²⁷

Attempts were also made to illuminate the thoroughfares. Five people from each side of the street were expected to hang lanterns from 5pm to 10pm to prevent "many mischiefes and inconveniences in the streets in the darke nights". The residents appear to have ignored the order, for one month later nothing had been done.²⁸ In 1692 private enterprise came to the rescue in the shape of Thomas Neal Esquire and two others who offered to put up street lights of the same design as those

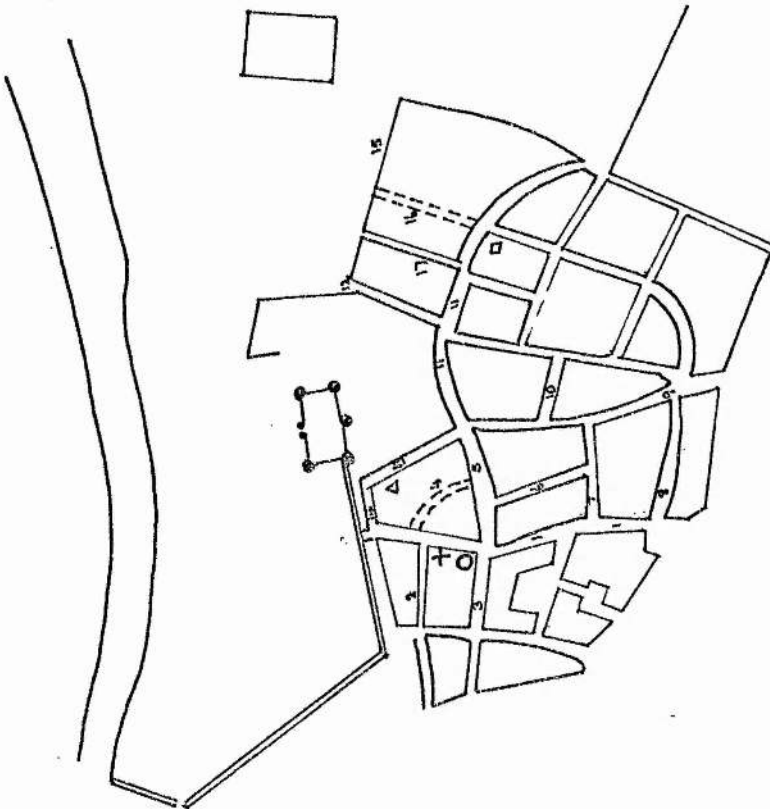
used in London. This was to be at their own expense and they would persuade the citizens to pay afterwards.²⁹

St. Bride's was larger than those parishes studied in Edinburgh and London but its fabric was similar. All urban parishes would have faced the same difficulties over hygiene, street repairs and housing. As will be shown, its population was also little different in size of character.

MAP 1.

THE PARISH OF ST. BRIDE'S, 1685.

(Based on a map by Thomas Phillips, 1685.)



1. ST. BRIDE'S STREET.
2. BRIDES ALLEY.
3. BULL ALLEY.
4. CHANCERY LANE.
5. GOLDEN LANE.
6. MAIDEN LANE.
7. PETER LANE.
8. GREAT BUTTER STREET.
9. WHITEFRIARS STREET.
10. WHITEFRIARS LANE.
11. ST. STEPHENS STREET.
12. GEORGE LANE.
13. GREAT SHIP STREET.
14. LITTLE SHIP STREET.
15. CHEQUER LANE.
16. LITTLE BUTTER LANE.
17. WILLIAM STREET.

- + ST. BRIDE'S CHURCH.
- O. ALE'S HOUSE.
- △ ST. MICHAEL'S CHURCH.
- ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH.

- A. Molyneux House.
- B. Sir William Downville's House.
- C. Pole Gate.

(ii) DEMOGRAPHYA) Parish Size and Structure

The sources in this field are little better than those used in describing the economic picture of the parish. The original parish registers no longer exist and those used are nineteenth century copies.³⁰ In this they are little different from the majority of parish documents in Dublin. The major problem is that this necessitates relying on the accuracy of another party. This makes the normal tests on the registers of burials, baptisms and marriages all the more important. Though they passed the majority of tests there was a four month gap in the burial register which was probably caused by missing records. It is unlikely that the registers of the other parishes of a similar size would be any more suitable, the gap was filled by an average estimated from the corresponding months in the other years.

St. Bride's also presented the normal problems of an urban parish. It is extremely difficult to isolate it from the rest of the city - aggravated by St. Bride's having no independent identity. Baptisms, burials and marriages may all have been recorded in another parish and thus lie hidden from the demographer's gaze. As the parish was situated so close to one of Dublin's cathedrals, St. Bride's may have suffered from this more than either the Canongate or St. Bartholomew's.

It cannot be claimed that the parish registers covered the majority of the population. Like the parishes in Edinburgh

and London, St. Bride's had a strong non-conformist community - in this case made up of Quakers.³¹ With their own Meeting House in the parish they would not appear on the established church's registers. Also missing from the registers would have been the many Roman Catholics resident in the parish. Though Dublin was a mainly Protestant city, it still had a large number of 'papists' within its bounds. Though priests were not officially allowed in the city (except during James II's presence in Dublin) it was most unlikely that the Roman Catholics attended the Anglican services.

If the non-Anglicans could escape from the parish registers they were not able to evade the tax rolls. Religion was not considered an excuse for not financially supporting an Anglican government. It is therefore unfortunate that the quality and quantity of the surviving rolls is so poor. The only information that can be gained from the parish rates is the number of household heads - if we can assume a low level of evasion.³² Hearth taxes survive in some number but with the exception of that for 1664 they do not list households but only parish totals. It has in any case been suggested by Professor Connell that as many as two-thirds of the households may be missing from the rolls and this must be allowed for in any calculations.³³ Once again only copies survive and it must be hoped that the scribes did their work accurately. The lack of detailed marriage, poll or hearth taxes means that no work can be carried out on the household structure of the parish. All that can be achieved is a somewhat unreliable estimate of

the parish population.

As in the other sample parishes several methods can be used to estimate the size of the population. With the parish register material, the burial and baptism ratios of Graunt, King, Petty plus Jones and Judges are used in conjunction with the register totals.³⁴ These ratios were designed for London and may not be totally appropriate for Dublin. With this in mind King's ratio for large provincial cities was used in preference to that for the English capital. The registers are bound to be very deficient and the allowances recommended by Krause seem hardly sufficient in this case.³⁵ Roman Catholics may have formed 25% of the population and though the number of Quakers is unknown an allowance of 5% is made for them. There were approximately two hundred families divided between three Meeting Houses. Thus 60 families in St. Bride's would have formed 15% of the population, but there is no evidence that the Quakers lived in only three parishes.

The most striking feature of the estimates is the similarity between baptism ratio totals of the early demographers and the burial ratio total of Jones and Judges. Considering the high number of burials in the parish it would seem that the burial ratios of the seventeenth century demographers were too high. At the same time the chance of a child surviving to baptism in Dublin may have been less than Jones and Judges estimated for London - or perhaps more likely the fertility rate was lower in Dublin than in England's capital. St. Bride's appears to have had an Anglican population of approximately 2,000 souls

Year	Baptisms	G. King		J. Graunt		Jones and Judges		Burials	G. King		J. Graunt		W. Petty		Jones and Judges	
		1:28½	1:28	1:30	1:30	1:25	1:22		1:30	4/10	1:32	1:30	1:30	1:22	1:22	1:22
1685	77	2195		2310		1925		106	3222		3392		3180		2332	
1686	84	2394		2520		2100		116	3526		3712		3480		2552	
1687	66	1881		1980		1650		117	3557		3744		3510		2574	
1688	57	1625		1710		1425		104	3162		3328		3120		2288	
1689	45	1283		1350		1125		101	3070		3232		3030		2222	
1690	51	2565		1530		1275		121	3678		3872		3630		2662	
1691	78	2223		2340		1950		105	3192		3360		3150		2310	
1692	60	1710		1800		1500		86	2614		2752		2580		1892	
1693	58	1653		1740		1450		64	1946		2048		1920		1408	
1694	76	2166		2280		1900		60	1824		1920		1800		1320	
Average		1970 + 40%		1956 + 40%		1630 + 40%			2979 + 35%		3136 + 35%		2940 + 35%		2156 + 35%	
Average		2758		2738		2282			4021		4234		3696		2911	

Table 1 Estimates for the Population of St. Bride's based on the work

of J. Graunt, G. King, W. Petty, and A.V. Judges and P.E. Jones

which would be increased to almost 3,000 if non-conformists and 'papists' were included. This would put the parish between St. Bartholomew's the Great (c. 2,000) and the Canongate (c. 4,000).³⁶

The most useful tax roll for the parish is the 1695/6 Hearth Tax copied by Thomas Molyneux.³⁷ This recorded 425 houses in the parish (337 good, 22 poor and 66 waste) with a population of 2,343 souls. This tax was collected more efficiently than its predecessors and though there were undoubtedly evasions it was unlikely that these rivalled the 66% estimated for earlier years.³⁸ The total agrees remarkably well with the register estimates, especially if it is assumed that there was some evasion. If the population was approximately 3,000 then 28% of the parish evaded the Hearth Tax - a proportion which is quite acceptable. The Hearth Tax figures give a Mean Household Size of 6.51 if the waste houses are excluded. This compares with a M.H.S. of 7.723 for the city as a whole. These figures compare favourably with a M.H.S. of 7.7 recorded by South in the same year though this is hardly surprising if he was using the same rolls but he did have the benefit of the Poll Taxes.³⁹ Overall the result is a M.H.S. which was larger than either of those for the other capitals. This could be accounted for by either more than one family living in a house, or by the households having more servants.⁴⁰

That some houses were shared is suggested by the 1684 church assessment which recorded 517 household heads paying

the tax.⁴¹ A parish tax of 1683 shows that some houses were sub-divided - usually only into two sections. Thus in Bride Street, William Ayres shared a house with Elizabeth Barnett. The extra households would reduce the M.H.S. calculated by Molyneux to 4.53 - a figure much more in keeping with those on the mainland.

Another listing for this period (the exact year is unknown) was "An Abstract of the Numbers of Protestants and Papists able to bear arms in the City of Dublin".⁴² This probably listed the males over the age of 16. As there was no financial element to the listing, it was probably reasonably accurate.

	Protestants	% of Pop.	'Papists'	Total	%
House keepers	466	87.8	65	531	36.3
Inmates & Lodgers	488	75.9	155	643	44.0
Servants	235	81.6	53	288	19.7
	1189	81.3	273	1462	100.0

Table 2 The Numbers of Protestants and Papists
Able to Bear Arms in St. Bride's, 169?

In the Canongate this section formed 30% of the population, though this was probably lower than normal due to the small number of male servants recorded. If then this section formed approximately 40% of the parish, then the total population was about 3,500 souls. It is difficult to be certain about this

as it is impossible to calculate the sex ratio or that proportion of the parish made up of children. The description "inmates" is somewhat ambiguous but probably refers to children over sixteen and the employees of the parish tradesmen.⁴³ If so this would result in an average of 1.75 servants per household - comparing quite favourably with the 1.78 in St. Bartholomew's the Great.⁴⁴

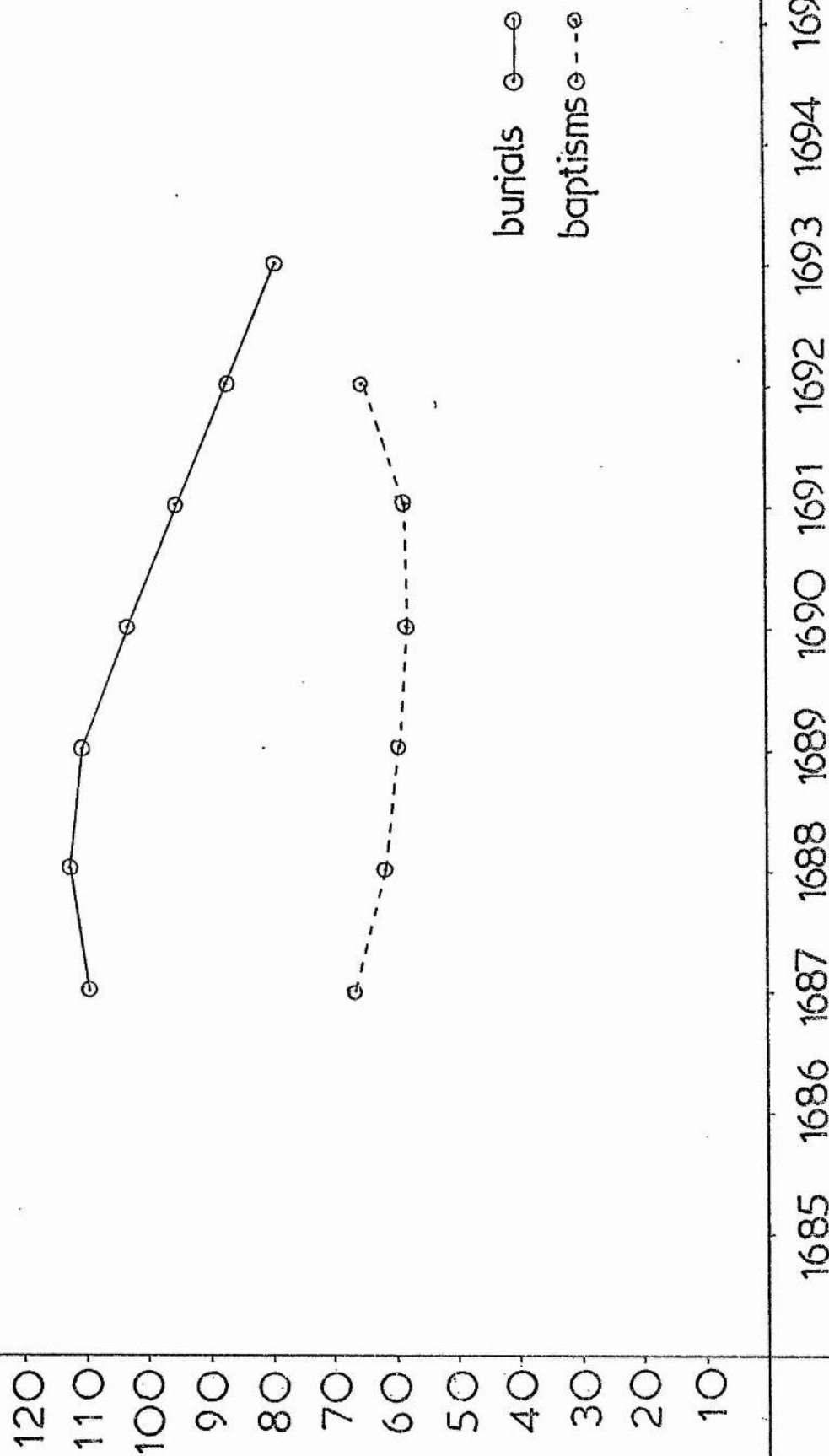
The 1695/6 Hearth Tax lists twenty-two houses as exempted from payment ("poor"). Using Molyneux's M.H.S. these would have housed 144 persons. This was somewhat higher than the 5% of the population that Slack estimated would make up the impotent poor (117 souls).⁴⁵ However, the Hearth Tax M.H.S. is probably too high as it is unlikely that the impoverished households would have been as large as the norm.⁴⁶ The twenty-two poor houses formed 5% of the buildings in the parish which corresponds exactly with the estimate of Slack.

The lack of suitable tax rolls makes it difficult to discover whether or not the size of the population was changing over time. Though the increase in the number of houses recorded in the Hearth Taxes suggests that the population was indeed rising. The five year moving averages of burials and baptisms conversely indicate a serious natural decrease in the population.⁴⁷ Burials continually outnumbered baptisms though the gap was rapidly closing at the end of the decade (Figure 1). Exactly why deaths should be falling so quickly is not clear. The records show that smallpox was present in the earlier years - "Juremiah Sharp died of fever eight years

FIGURE 8.1

FIVE YEAR MOVING AVERAGES OF BURIALS AND

BAPTISMS IN ST. BRIDE'S 1685-1695.



of age", "Elizabeth, daughter of John Hun [died of] small pox"⁴⁸ - but the large number of children dying through the decade suggests that deaths from this disease did not decrease.⁴⁹ It is possible that the political problems of the late 1680's led to a migration of refugees to Dublin and the high death rate was caused by overcrowding, poor hygiene and lack of food. Whatever the cause and duration of the falling death rate, it would appear that Dublin, like London, depended on an inflow of new blood to maintain the population level, let alone to increase it.⁵⁰

B) Migration

Though the gap between burials and baptisms suggests that St. Bride's would have needed a large number of immigrants to maintain a stable population, little reference is made to this group. The best source of information is the burial register which lists twenty-one strangers / migrants as being buried in the parish.

Origin	Number	Origin	Number
Bryan Cherry	1	"Over the water"	1
Ougan	1	Scotland	1
Ringhorg	1	Holland	2
Achlone	1	Brazil	2
Kells	1	France	1
Limerick	1	Germany	2
Clandawby	1	Stranger	4
Templebar	1		
Total			21

Table 3 The Origins of Strangers recorded
in the Burial Registers, 1685 - 1695

These were from a much smaller variety of countries than the other capitals experienced. The Corporation records show that a large number of foreigners were entering Dublin - and were actually encourage. to do so. A large proportion of these would have been skilled craftsmen such as John Dalhusus, a German Goldsmith who died in January 1694/5. Thus migrants were certainly coming to Dublin and some were residing in St. Bride's. The difficulty is that the surviving records are not of sufficient quality to isolate the migrants. However they appear to have been of sufficient quantity to maintain the parish's population, if not even increase it slightly.

(iii) ECONOMICA) The Guilds and Occupations

The Guilds in Dublin were the economic lynch-pins of the city's economy. They attempted to ensure that their members had a monopoly over their own particular 'art' and allowed only 'free-men' to trade in the city. In return for these privileges the Guilds were expected to work for the good of the community - regulating prices and supervising standards of workmanship. They were also expected to insure that the masters controlled their apprentices. The Guilds of the late seventeenth century, like those on the mainland, had their origins in the medieval religious Guilds. Though the Reformation had altered their functions, in Dublin at least they had retained this link through their names. Though there were in all twenty-one Guilds, the records of only four survive for this period - St. Luke's (Cutlers, painters, stainers and stationers); Holy Trinity (merchants); Feltmakers; and St. Anne's (Barbers).⁵¹ Of these it was St. Anne's which was the most important with an annual income of over £2,500. Indeed the recall of Wentworth in 1640 has been partly attributed to his attempts to investigate the accounts of St. Anne's.⁵² The Holy Trinity Guild - like the merchant institutions in the other capitals - was also quite substantial and had over 400 members in 1685.⁵³

As in London, the Guilds' jurisdiction covered the whole city which makes it difficult to assess their relevance to an individual parish. Unlike St. Bartholomew's the Great, St. Bride's residents were subject to the Guilds, but the listing of members

rarely recorded the parish of residence. At the level of city administration the Guilds were very important as they contributed the majority of members on the Common Council and would thus have influenced life in the capital.⁵⁴

Internally the Guilds were organised on similar lines to those of London and the Canongate. St. Luke's had a Master, Wardens and the Commonality - all of whom made up the Council. The Feltmakers had a Master, three Wardens and twelve assistants.⁵⁵ Unlike England and Scotland, Roman Catholics were able to become 'free' and join the Guilds as 'Quarter-brethren'.⁵⁶ The Protestants so out-numbered the 'papists' in the city that with some exceptions they did not fear the Catholics and their money was as good as anyone else's. Foreigners were also present in large numbers. They were encouraged to come to the capital - provided they were Protestant. French Huguenots were permitted to become citizens free of charge.⁵⁷ The drift to the city was certainly strong, 528 men were made free between January and August 1687.⁵⁸ The number of Huguenots became so great that the Corporation had to introduce measures to control their numbers.⁵⁹

In general the Guilds had the same responsibilities as those in the other capitals. They were expected to provide relief for their own members and their families. In July 1680 the Guild of St. Anne's received a petition from the grandson of one ruined by loans to the city during the Rebellion and who himself had been enslaved in Algeria.⁶⁰ Of course, most pleas for help were not quite so 'exotic' or from so far afield. Apprentices were as difficult to control in Dublin as anywhere else. The

Guild of Holy Trinity suggested that special stocks should be put up for the youths though what became of this scheme is not known.⁶¹ It was also necessary to control hawkers and all the Guilds appear to have passed legislation to deal with them - that of St. Luke's was perhaps typical.

"Wheras divers persons doe dayly hawke up and downe the streets and lanes of the City of Dublin . . . offering and exposing to sale severall sorts of Goods . . . without licence . . . to the great damage of severall Brothers . . . require you the undernamed . . . to bring before use . . . every such person or persons hawker or hawkers . . . exposing to sale any Bibles or Books stiched or bound. Alminahes, pamphlitts, ballards and other printed Books or papers whatsoever or swords, knives, pictures or any other Goodes . . . belonging to the Arts Misteries . . . "62

Due no doubt to the religious situation in Ireland the Guilds also performed a military function and appear to have been part of the militia -

"Appear with good firearms and the best apparill to March to St. Stephens Green, according to custome, on the first day of May next and to receive such orders as shall there be given".⁶³

This military aspect of the Guilds was confirmed by the remaining examples of a freeman's ticket. He was to provide himself

"With armes sufficient for a foot souldier, viz one sword, one belt and a Pike, or one sword and belt musquett and bandeliers, and the same shall have in a readiness".⁶⁴

Though this was undoubtably based on the London Trained Bands the day of the militia had passed and they could only be expected to control disorders in the city and perform ceremonial duties.

It was in St. Bride's that the most representative picture

of the Guilds survives. The Canongate was a small burgh with its own Incorporations independent of the capital, while St. Bartholomew's was outside the Guild system. However, the Guilds in all three capitals were trying to achieve the same aims, had the same responsibilities and maintained the same privileges.

The fact that the Guilds were not directly related to the parishes makes it difficult to discover the occupations of the parishioners. As in London, residence was not always recorded in the Freeman lists. The tax rolls which were the main source of this type of information in the Canongate, are of no use in St. Bride's as none of the surviving rolls listed occupation. The parish registers are a little more informative though the only category which was regularly recorded was that of gentleman. Thus, as in St. Bartholomew's, the picture must be built from various scraps - a few wills, vestry records, a few from the Freeman Rolls and parish registers. The results are listed in Table 4.

Percentages have been recorded in Table 4 but it should not be assumed that they reflect the true importance of these groups in the parish. The list has no claim to statistical validity and is based merely on the accident of survival. As in St. Bartholomew's only the variety of occupations is illustrated. However it does appear that the majority of occupations were those which belonged to the various Guilds - 60.9% of those listed would have belonged to such organisations compared with 56% in St. Bartholomew's and 44.67% in the Canongate. In general, it

	Number	% Guilds	% Occupations
<hr/>			
CLOTHING			
Shoemakers	7		
Feltmaker	4		
Glover	7		
Tailor	5		
Perriwigmaker	1		
Dyer	1		
Hosier	2		
Weaver	1		
	28	12.0	12.0
'SERVICE'			
Servants	3		
Clerk	2		
Inspector	1		
Trumpeter	2		
Notary	1		
Translator	1		
Butler	1		
Drummer	1		
Apprentice	2		
	14	0.9	6.0
ELITE			
Gentlemen	43		
Minister	8		
Merchant	25		
Attourney	4		
Mayor	2		
Councillor	2		
Bishop	1		
Lord Cheif Baron	1		
Aldermen	2		
Mister	2		
	90	10.8	38.8
METAL			
Brasier	3		
Goldsmith	3		
Smith	4		
Founder	2		
Goldsmith	2		
Pewterer	1		
Turner	1		
Metal worker	2		
Claspmaker	1		
	19	8.2	8.2

LEATHER /

Table 4 A Survey of the Recorded Occupations in St. Bride's, 1685-1695

Table 4 Continued

	Number	% Guilds	% Occupations
<hr/>			
LEATHER			
Sadler	2		
Upholsterer	1		
Harnessmaker	2		
Tanner	1		
	6	2.6	2.6
WRIGHTS			
Cooper	1		
Wheelwright	2		
	3	1.3	1.3
MEDICAL			
Doctor	6		
Surgeon	2		
Apothecary	2		
	10	1.7	1.7
PARISH			
Sexton	1		
Beadle	1		
Organist	1		
	3		1.3
BUILDING			
Carpenter	6		
Joiner	8		
Bricklayers	6		
Mason	1		
Glasier	5		
Plaister	3		
Painter	2		
	31	13.4	13.4
MISCELLANEOUS			
Castor Maker	1		
Polterer	1		
Carman	2		
Corkmaker	1		
Texter	1		
Heater	1		
Stationer	1		
Heyler	2		
Tallow Chandler	1		
Barber	1		
	12	3.9	5.2
FOOD			
Innkeeper	2		
Butcher	5		
Baker	5		
Cook	3		
	16	6.0	6.9
TOTAL	232		

was also the same trades which were important - clothing, building and metal working. In St. Bride's the merchants were more numerous than in either of the other parishes forming 10.8% of the occupations (compared with 3.37% in the Canongate).

The presence of the merchants plus the large number of parish and city elite (38.8%) lends support to the nineteenth century opinions that the parish had once been one of the most important in Dublin and that the houses "were the abodes of rank and fashion and the highest professional eminence".⁶⁵ The one major group missing from the records was that of the servants. Normally estimated from the tax rolls, the only guide to this group is a listing of Protestants and Papists.⁶⁶ This suggests that there were 288 servants in St. Bride's though it does not define the term. The existence of a large number of servants is supported by the other occupational categories which would, in general, have employed hired labour.

Table 4 shows that St. Bride's had the same basic grouping of occupations as the other parishes - middlemen, professions, craftsmen, non-craftsmen and administrators. However the parish was in many ways closer in character to the Canongate than St. Bartholomew's. St. Bride's was obviously the residence of a large number of the city's elite and like the Canongate had to supply their needs - hence the goldsmiths, gunsmiths, pewterers, perriwig-makers and merchants.⁶⁷ Despite these, the stability and well-being of the parish economy would have depended on the traditional trades, such as textiles and building. At a time of rapid expansion of both the city and its population these would

have been in great demand.

B) Wealth

In the other parishes studied there were few enough measures of wealth which could be used. In St. Bride's the available records are of a lower standard still. This is due to the poor survival of records after the early decades of this century.⁶⁸ Almost all of the wills and inventories, which would have provided the most accurate source, have been lost.⁶⁹ The vast majority of national tax rolls are also missing. Only one Poll Tax survives for Dublin during this period and it merely records the parish totals.⁷⁰ There are several parish rates but though these do record the amounts paid, the rating itself is not known so in themselves they do not tell a great deal.⁷¹ Certainly they are useless for comparison with the two parishes on the mainland.

The only rolls to survive in any number were the Hearth Taxes.⁷² Those most useful to demographers are the rolls of 1664 and 1695.⁷³ The tax was collected on the same basis as on the mainland - 2/= per year per hearth excluding the poor and widows in houses worth less than 8/= per annum.⁷⁴ However the collection appears to have been extremely deficient due to its unpopularity - "a convenient instrument for exacting the last farthing from a defeated race".⁷⁵ It has been suggested that as many as two-thirds of the households may be unrecorded in 1678.⁷⁶ This does not prevent the taxes being used as indices of wealth.

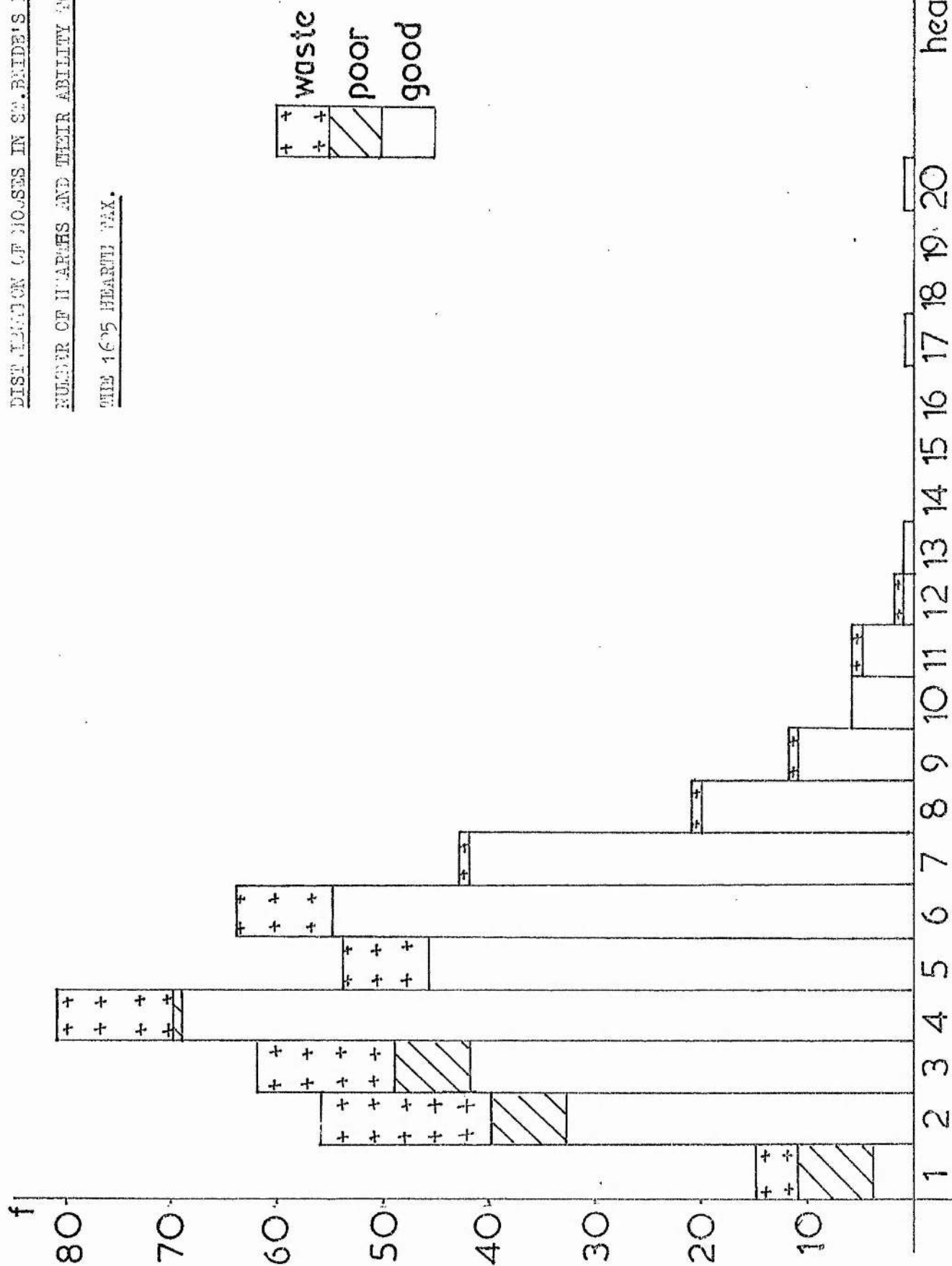
"If we assume that the size of a man's house, as

FIGURE 8.2

DISTRIBUTION OF HOUSES IN ST. BRIDE'S BY THE

NUMBER OF HEARTHS AND THEIR ABILITY TO PAY

THE 1695 HEARTH TAX.



measured by the number of hearths it contained, is a rough index to his wealth . . . we can classify the town population by categories according to house size".⁷⁷

Though the tax collectors had become more efficient by 1695, there was still the possibility of considerable omission. Yet even with only the hearths recorded, St. Bride's, with a mean of 4.9, appears to have been wealthier than either of the other parishes. Though if the missing houses had few hearths the mean would fall. Compared with St. Bartholomew's the parish had a much smaller proportion of small houses and almost double the percentage of large houses (with five hearths or more). The addition of more taxable houses would not adversely affect the fact that only 20.7% of the residences were non-chargeable. This compares well with an average of over 50% in East London.⁷⁸ This probably reflected that large numbers of merchants and gentry stayed in St. Bride's. The comparison with the Canongate is much more misleading as the majority of residences there are known to have been flats. In the Canongate it is less valid to use hearths as an index of wealth. As with the other parishes there was wide variety in the number of hearths though to a somewhat lesser degree.

This picture is modified somewhat if the 1664 Hearth Tax is studied. However, it is known that this tax was not collected as efficiently as its successors and the higher proportion of one and two hearth houses was probably a result of wealthier houses avoiding the attention of the collectors (see Table 6).

Number of Hearths	Good "People of Some Condition"	Poor Alms Receivers and Those unable to Pay Duty	Waste (Empty)	Number	Percentage	Canongate %	St. Bartholomew's %
1	4	7	4	15	3.5		18.4
2	33	7	16	56	13.3		9.5
3	42	7	13	62	14.6	50.5	
4	69	1	11	81	19.1		43.3
5	46		8	54	12.7		
6	55		9	64	15.1		
7	42		1	43	10.1		
8	20		1	21	4.9	47.0	25.8
9	11		1	12	2.8		
10	6			6	1.4		
11	5		1	6	1.4		
12	1		1	2	0.5		
13	1			1	0.2		
17	1			1	0.2		
20	1			1	0.2		
	337	22	66	425	100.0		

St. Bride's Mean = 4.9 hearths St. Bride's Mode = 4 hearths

Table 5 Distribution of Hearths in St. Bride's (1695) compared with

St. Bartholomew's the Great and the Canongate

	1	2	3-5	6-9	10 or over
1664	18.0%	20.0%	41.0%	15.0%	6.0%
1695	3.5%	13.3%	46.4%	32.9%	3.9%

Table 6 Comparison of the Number of Hearths
in Houses in 1664 and 1695

The parish has a high percentage of large houses for Dublin as a whole and this suggests that it was one of the wealthier parishes in the city. This is confirmed by a study of the 'poor' households for the entire city in 1695 (the only year that the tax was collected in this way). Only four parishes had a lower percentage of exempt households.⁷⁹

Parish	% Poor	Parish	% Poor
St. Nicholas within	~	St. Catherine & James'	9
St. Michael's	4	St. Micharis	11
St. Werburgh's	3	St. Nicholas without	7
St. Audeon's	11	St. John's	8
ST. BRIDE'S	5	St. Peter & Kevin	5
St. Andrew's	11	Christ Church Liberties	13
Donnybrook	5	Christ Church Yard	3

Table 7 Percentage of Poor Houses in each Parish (1695)

The 1696 Poll Tax supports this view. With payments of £421.4.0 for the second half of the year, it was the fifth highest contributor in the city.⁸⁰ With only 5% of the parish

unable to pay the Hearth Tax, the parish should have been well able to look after its own poor. This, plus the high percentage of large houses and the high average distribution of hearths per household, implies that the parish was quite wealthy. The same indices suggest that St. Bride's was wealthier than the London parish of St. Bartholomew's.

The lack of records makes it difficult to confidently state that St. Bride's was similar to the other parishes in this study. However there do not appear to be any major differences which would invalidate the comparison. The size of the population and its wealth was not dissimilar to that of St. Bartholomew's or the Canongate, while the variety of occupations was also in accordance with the mainland parishes. The main difference was that St. Bride's, unlike the others, was not separated from its neighbours in anyway, but that should not affect the study. If the fabric was similar, would the problems also be the same? Dublin was separated from the mainland by the sea and was in some ways the capital of a satellite country. It is now time to see what problems faced the vestry and how it managed to deal with them.

parish: St Brides

YEAR	Month of Conception												BAPTISMS	CONCEPTIONS BY HARVEST YEAR (Totals)	COMMENTS	
	Month of Baptism															
	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC	JAN	FEB	MAR				
	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC				
1680																
1681																
1682																
1683																
1684																
1685	6	8	8	5	5	6	3	8	3	9	10	6	77	27	50	73
1686	8	5	9	7	7	6	11	10	5	2	3	11	84	29	55	72
1687	3	7	2	6	8	5	5	11	5	5	5	4	66	18	48	41
1688	7	6	6	5	3	5	6	5	5	2	5	2	57	24	33	54
1689	2	2	1	3	3	1	3	5	7	8	4	6	45	8	37	59
1690	5	1	5	6	3	3	5	4	3	7	5	4	51	17	34	79
1691	6	6	9	4	4	5	5	6	5	8	9	11	78	25	53	50
1692	5	6	10	5	2	3	4	2	3	10	4	6	60	26	34	64
1693	4	6	4	2	8	2	5	5	5	5	7	5	58	16	42	
1694	6	3	7	6	5	8	6	7	9	4	5	10	76	22	54	
1695																
1696																
1697																
1698																
1699																
TOTAL	52	50	61	49	48	44	53	63	50	60	57	65	652			

parish: St Brides

YEAR	/												CIVIL YEAR (Totals)	JAN - JUL	AUG - DEC	HARVEST YEAR (Totals)	ST-RANGER'S	COMMENTS
	JAN	FEB	MAR	APR	MAY	JUN	JUL	AUG	SEP	OCT	NOV	DEC						
1680																		
1681																		
1682																		
1683																		
1684																		
1685	10	11	8	5	6	9	6	8	12	10	9	12	106	55	51	125		
1686	13	13	14	8	8	12	6	9	10	6	8	9	116	74	42	124		
1687	15	11	17	12	9	7	11	12	4	5	5	9	117	82	35	108		
1688	13	5	8	10	13	14	9	5	2	(7)	(10)	(8)	(104)	72	(32)	(82)		
1689	(11)	2	4	10	6	9	8	9	7	10	12	13	(101)	(50)	51	111		
1690	5	8	8	11	9	10	9	12	8	10	20	11	121	60	61	126	6	
1691	12	7	14	5	8	13	6	11	9	3	14	3	105	65	40	89	1	
1692	10	8	4	3	5	10	9	10	6	8	6	7	86	49	37	75	4	
1693	4	7	5	7	4	4	7	6	1	3	5	11	64	38	26	69	2	
1694	8	8	7	6	8	3	3	1	3	4	7	2	60	43	17	65	2	
1695	16	4	4	3	4	6	11	5	6	7	11	3	80	48	32		2	
1696																		
1697																		
1698																		
1699																		
TOTAL	(117)	84	93	80	80	97	85	88	68	(73)	(107)	(88)	1060					

BURIALS

(B)

parish: St Brides

Year	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec	Civil Year (Totals)	Jan- Jul	Aug- Dec	Harvest Year (Totals)	Comments
1680																	
1681																	
1682																	
1683																	
1684																	
1685				1			1		1				3	2	1	6	
1686	2	1			2			4			1		10	5	5	14	
1687	2	2	2	3					1				10	9	1	1	
1688																1	
1689				1					1				2	1	1	2	
1690		1											1	1			
1691									1		2		3		3	3	
1692								1					1		1	4	
1693	1			1		1			2	2	1	2	10	3	7	10	
1694	1				1		1	1	1		1		6	3	3	6	
1695			2	1					1	1	1		6	3	3		
1696																	
1697																	
1698																	
1699																	
TOTAL	4	6	4	7	3	1	2	6	7	4	6	2	52				

MARRIAGES

(C)

CHAPTER NINE SECULAR AND ECCLESIASTICAL ADMINISTRATION

(i) INTRODUCTION

The study of the administration of the parish by both the secular and ecclesiastical authorities is extremely difficult in Dublin. The scarcity of original documents has already been noted in the preceding chapter. The majority of St. Bride's parish records are only copies produced during the nineteenth century.¹ In many cases only the details which appeared to be of interest to the 'scribes' were copied. This was particularly true of the vestry accounts where few payments to the poor were listed. Yet it was fortunate that the copies were made or all trace of vestry administration might have disappeared.²

Indeed this appears to have happened with the judicial records of the period and no trace could be found of the various courts which sat in the capital.³ Only the various statutes and proclamations, plus some references to the constables and the watch in the vestry records, remain to give some insight to law and order. In theory the structure of law enforcement in Dublin should have been very similar to that already studied in London.⁴

The lack of original material is also reflected by the secondary sources. Few historians have been tempted into the fields of law enforcement or administration in Dublin.⁵ This shortage of material has resulted in only one chapter being devoted to secular and ecclesiastical control. While some areas such as poor relief can be studied in greater detail, it appears

that much of late seventeenth century life in a Dublin parish must remain hidden.

(ii) THE VESTRY

Parish government in Dublin was based on the system developed in England. As on the mainland local administration was based on the vestry. Judging by a complaint that "parishioners neglect in attending", the vestry in St. Bride's appears to have been 'open' rather than 'select' - like that in St. Bartholomew's.⁶ Since the 1660's the parishes of St. Stephen's, St. Bride's and St. Michael's le Pole had maintained a united vestry, though the parishes were not then formally integrated. Unlike the London parish, the right to fine rather than hold office was limited. Four people were elected for each post and if the first two refused it the others had to accept.⁷ The fine for churchwarden was set at £5 and that for sidesman at £3.⁸ Surprisingly there is no evidence that people did fine until 1693 though this may be due to the inadequate records.⁹ Those who refused to serve or fine were prosecuted though there was only one example of this.¹⁰ It is possible that the person concerned was not an Anglican and refused to support an alien creed. In common with some English parishes, one churchwarden appears to have been elected by the incumbent and the other by the 'people'.¹¹ One point of difference was that the churchwardens were elected for two years not one, as was the practice in St. Bartholomew's.¹² Few details remain about the other parish officials, apart from the fact that there was a scavenger and constable. It has been impossible to discover if there was an overseer.

Details about the composition of the vestry were equally

vague. Details of twenty-two people who served as church-warden or sidesmen have been found. Of these twenty-two, the occupation of eleven is known. Without the assistance of tax rolls, information of this kind could only be found in the parish registers and freemen rolls.

Occupation	Number
Tinctor	1
Smith	2
Brasier	1
Mercat	3
Druggist	1
Glasier	1
Carpenter	1
Founder	1
Not Known	11
Total	22

Table 1 Known Occupations of Members of
the Vestry in St. Bride's (Dublin)

The results can be compared with the details of the rulers in the other parishes in only the vaguest terms. It has not been possible to discover anything about the wealth of the members, but the types of occupation were similar to both the Canongate and St. Bartholomew's. However two of the merchants and the druggist were also described as "gentlemen" - a title possessed by none of the English or Scottish parish dignitaries.¹³ If the titles were genuine then the composition

of the Dublin vestry was different from the others. It would be interesting to know why such people served on a Dublin vestry when they did not do so elsewhere. Possibly those elected before them had fined and they had no choice but to take up this office. Perhaps the more likely solution was that they did not really deserve the title. As in London, the vestry did not meet very often - only four or five times a year, thereby limiting its effectiveness. Its overall size is not known but would probably have been between twenty and thirty.¹⁴

One radical difference with the parish councils on the mainland was that Roman Catholics appear to have been allowed to attend the meetings and to vote. At least this was the case in 1725 when an Act of Parliament mentions "the Popish inhabitants outvoting the Protestant inhabitants at the vestries".¹⁵ How this affected the administration of the parish is difficult to gauge. Certainly Roman Catholic participation would have been only just as they formed a large percentage of the population and were expected to pay all the taxes.

Though certain differences did exist between Dublin and the other capitals, the general image of the vestry was similar to that of the others. The similarity was stronger in the case of St. Bartholomew's the Great, not only in the case of organisation, but also in the responsibilities of the two bodies.

(iii) THE RELIGIOUS, MORAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES
OF THE VESTRY

Dublin was as Irish as Dean Swift - Irish in nationality, but Protestant, English-speaking and Anglican in ethos. It would have been surprising if the Irish vestry had not been used by the authorities in the same way as its counterpart in London. Thus the vestry in Dublin, unlike the kirk session, was given many administrative duties connected with the day to day running of the parish. Like the vestry in St. Bartholomew's the Great, that in St. Bride's acted more like an urban district council than a body concerned with religious and moral behaviour.

The vestry had responsibility for the condition of the roads within its bounds. Failure to maintain them would lead to prosecution by the city magistrates. In 1670/1 the vestry was fined 3/6 for not paving the streets in time.¹⁶ The roads could be maintained in two ways - either by forcing the residents to maintain that portion in front of their houses or by raising taxes. In 1673-74, 9/= was spent "writing a sess to repairing streetway out St. Jame's Gate and the highway laiding from Cavins port to St. Stephen's Green". In 1682 the same amount was spent "writing ye sess for ye bridge at _____ street and entering it".¹⁷ Not only had the streets to be maintained, they also had to be cleaned. Each parish employed a scavenger to organise this and his methods have already been described.¹⁸ In St. Bride's it would appear that the sexton helped with these duties as in 1679 he was paid 2/3 "for carreing away the

dirt".¹⁹ It is likely that he was only concerned with the area around the church.

As in other urban areas, the vestry was very concerned about the risk of fire. The corporation decreed that anyone who neglected to sweep their chimneys and they caught fire would pay the churchwarden 20/=. ²⁰ Inevitably most of the regulations concerned the fighting of fires once they had started. In January 1692/3 it was "ordered, pursuant to Grand Jury Presentment that four dozen buckets 'to be hung up in the church' and a long 'lather' and a long hooke be bought".²¹ These were the same basic tools which would be found in any parish in the British Isles. The parish also owned an "Extinguisher" for which they paid 1/6 in 1686.²² The equipment was all kept at the church as it was a public building and it could be quickly distributed in times of emergency. In 1685, 7/= was spent in making a place to hang the "lather and hookes".²³ Despite such expenditure, St. Bride's would have had little success in dealing with serious outbreaks of fire.

The vestry was naturally also responsible for the physical fabric of the church. By the late seventeenth century the vestry was forced to spend large amounts as the church had fallen into great disrepair. In 1685 it was decided to rebuild the church as it was in grave danger of falling down. This possibility had been recognised in 1683 when a sess was imposed to repair the church, the

"north wall of said church was so far defective that it was in danger of falling down. That the roof and main pillars supporting same were

in several places decayed and rotten; that
the south wall is too slender, . . . the seals
are ready to fall down . . . "24

The cost of all the repairs and rebuilding was high. Part was raised by voluntary collection but most was raised by sess which proved very difficult to collect. The Roman Catholics particularly resented contributing towards a rival and hostile religion - "this assessment method of building churches at the cost of rival sects is one of the perculiar beauties of the Anglican system . . . "25 In 1691 the builder - J. Barlow - had still not been paid and sued the parish. In 1692 another sess of £223 was raised to pay him.²⁶

The constant upkeep of the church property was a great drain on the available resources. For instance in 1685 £1.3.0 was needed to repair the organ and the following year £7.14.0 was spent on a Doctor of Divinity hood.²⁷ The vestry also administered the other property of the church and collected rents from buildings it owned. In January 1692 the "House and Ground in Mill Pond or Little Ship Street be viewed and measured [and] Formerly listed to Mr. Pope".²⁸ Rents were also collected on several passages which belonged to the church.

Though St. Bride's had no particular privileges (unlike the other parishes under study), it still had to be defended from the encroachments of its neighbours. In 1685, £1.5.6 was spent to prevent St. Kevin's being separated from the rest of the parish.²⁹ As was the custom elsewhere, the bounds of the parish were formally perambulated every few years - an occasion of solemnity and feasting and on which 16/10 was

spent in 1693.³⁰ That same year the vestry was in disputes with St. Peter's over the rights to a passage in St. Bride's Street. Though the vestry agreed that the matter should go before Parliament for arbitration, they also demonstrated a belief in possession being nine points of the law by blocking both ends of the passage with gates.³¹

There was a general feeling in the parish that it was overburdened by taxes - though this was undoubtedly not unique to St. Bride's. An appeal was made to have an Alderman appointed to look after the parish's interests.³² This belief probably explains why it was so difficult to collect taxes in the parish and why Messers Parsons and Parsly had to be prosecuted for refusing to collect a sess in March 1695.³³ As Table 2 shows, St. Bride's certainly did have a large number of sesses per year. The actual totals would have been higher as the lists do not include the poor rate. However the problem was not totally the fault of city or national governments. A large part of the burden would have been due to the repairs on the parish church.

Year	Number
1686-8	16
1689-90	5
1693	9
1693-4	8
1694-5	6

Table 2 The Number of Taxes Collected in St. Bride's

The administration of St. Bride's was exactly the same as that carried out in St. Bartholomew's the Great. An observer unaware of the Irish provenance of these records might be excused for thinking them those of a London parish. St. Bride's, like St. Bartholomew's had less in common with the Canongate, where the kirk session did not have to worry about the maintenance of the parish. There the session was able to devote its energies to its moral and religious responsibilities.

Though the records of the ecclesiastical courts no longer survive, the vestry had the same responsibilities as its counterparts in London. It could not prosecute cases itself but was expected to refer them to the bishop's courts. The similarity to London went further in that the vestry - from the slender evidence available - seems to have stopped doing so almost entirely. Parliament still passed Acts which were to support the vestries in maintaining public morals - 'An Act to Suppress Public Swearing and cursing' or 'An Act for the Better Observation of the Lord's Day' - but they were largely ignored. In a parish with a large 'popish' and Quaker element there was little that the authorities could do. Between 1685 and 1690 the Anglican church could not even count on the support of the higher authorities because of the views and policies of James II. The vestry was probably less influenced by 'good neighbourhood' than by survival. Later in the 1690's the vestry felt able to make token efforts to reform the morals of the parishioners. In 1694-95, Mr. Rollen spent £1 in "prosecuting Wall for keeping a naughty house".³⁴ In 1699, the vestry finally acted on the laws against swearing -

"Moneys received for profain cursing and swareing and sabath breaking . . .	
John Anderson for swearing two oaths	4/=
John Mears for carrying of foods on the sabbath day	5/=
John Lewis for swearing ten oaths	10/=". ³⁵

Only one other piece of moral reformation was recorded. In 1693, following the example of the Bible, an effort was made to prevent goods being sold at the church gate. It was over a year before the vestry was successful.³⁶

The vestry appears to have been no more interested in moral or religious affairs than its opposite number in St. Bartholomew's. It must be admitted that late seventeenth century Dubliners had more pressing matters to worry about, such as the religious policies of the monarch. Also the Protestants in Ireland belonged to a minority creed and perhaps felt that they should not press their beliefs too hard. The work of the vestry in this field as with secular administration had more in common with London than with Edinburgh. This was hardly surprising considering the religious, economic and political ties between England and the south of Ireland.

(iv) POOR RELIEFA) History

The history of the Irish Poor Laws is even today shrouded by a blanket of poor or non-existent sources. Only one study appears to have been published and - as would be expected of a mid-nineteenth century work - it deals mainly with the statutes rather than with the day to day reality of awards.³⁷ How the poor were treated in practice has been more or less ignored by later historians.

The Irish Poor Laws were based on those enacted in England though considerable delay was experienced before the legislation crossed the sea. The first Act passed after 1537 was 10 & 11 CI cap 4 (1634-5) which was

"for the erecting of Houses of Correction
and for the punishment of Rogues, Vagabonds,
Sturdy beggars and other lewd and idle
persons".³⁸

This set up (in theory) correction houses in every county. The constables were to search out people to be put in them. There was no allowance for 'settlement' or 'parish chargability', nor was there any formal guidance about the provision of relief. It would seem that relief was left totally to the initiative of the individual parishes. Some, including St. Bride's, used the payment of 'Sess and Press' as a qualification for receiving relief.³⁹ There was not even any indication that parishes were to have 'overseers of the poor'.

Apart from an 'Act for the suppressing of Cosheres and idle Wanders', passed in the same years, there was to be no further

legislation until 1703. From a formal, statute point of view, there is no doubt that Ireland was far behind England and Scotland in the provision of aid for the poor. But as has often been the case it is not possible to judge the issue from statute law alone.

B) The Attitude of the Vestry

Though it is difficult to be certain, the membership of St. Bride's vestry does not appear to have been too different from that of St. Bartholomew's the Great or the Canongate. They were subject to the same social, economic and religious influences and it would be surprising if their attitude to the problem of poor relief was very different. The impotent and indigent poor would have had the sympathy of the vestry members. They would have had little time for strangers who came into the parish and like the vestry in St. Bartholomew's would have been keen to move them on. The 4/6 paid "to get rid of a poor man" would not have been an isolated payment.⁴⁰ That the official appointed to deal with strangers was called a 'bang-beggar' vividly illustrates their attitude towards this group. His instructions in one case included the preparation of

"a shepherds crook with a sharp edge [and]
catto ninetails for enabling him to keep the
streets free from hoggs sturdy and foreign
beggars".⁴¹

In contrast to St. Bartholomew's, the vestry in St. Bride's had some interest in the spiritual welfare of the poor and provided "six fforms in ye church for ye poor to sit on".⁴² Unfortunately it is not known whether religious observance was a condition of

relief, but in a parish with so many non-Anglican inhabitants this seems unlikely. Nevertheless in providing the benches, the vestry was acting more in the manner of a kirk session than an English vestry.

The parish officials were very inefficient in collecting the rates and as the above example of the old man indicates, the vestry would have been keen to spend as little as possible. The vestry members like the other parish residents, had an interest in keeping the poor rate low.

What is not clear is the attitude of the vestry towards the Roman Catholic poor who appear to have formed the majority of this class.⁴³ Did they qualify for relief and was it used as a weapon in converting them to the Protestant religion? On the whole it seems likely that they did qualify for relief partly because of their numbers and partly because their wealthier co-religionists were expected to contribute to the Poor Rate.

C) Resources

Though no national tax rolls survive for the parish, and it is impossible to be certain of the level of wealth in St. Bride's, it was probably as wealthy as the other two parishes. Certainly it has left behind the reputation of being prosperous and this was in part supported by the evidence of the Hearth Tax rolls. In that case the parish should have had little difficulty in looking after its own poor.

Despite the lack of legislative support, the parishes did organise their own poor rates. These were collected from

the entire parish and not merely the Protestants.

Year	Amount		
1683	44	0	0
1686	65	10	11½
1687	32	14	9
1688	5	17	3 (½ year)
1689	49	2	0
1691	45	0	0
1693	57	11	10
1694	25	16	2

Table 3 The Amount Collected by the Parish
Poor Rate in St. Bride's

In amount, the collection could vary greatly between years but seems to have been normally close to £45 per annum. If this was the case the rate corresponded roughly with those collected in the Canongate and St. Bartholomew's.⁴⁴

As in the other parishes there were several other sources of revenue. There were four poor boxes in the church which were used for voluntary collections.⁴⁵ The officials also organised special collections - "paid in expenses when beggin for the poor in St. Francis chappell - 7/10".⁴⁶ These were sometimes intended for specific uses, such as the new poor house for which two collections in 1684 raised £70.7.1.⁴⁷

The vestry could also use the money collected from fines for the relief of the poor. Those who refused to take up an office had to pay a maximum of £5 which also went to the poor.⁴⁸ The fines imposed on several crimes also went towards the poor

funds. These included moral offences such as swearing and not observing the sabbath.⁴⁹ As the vestry was not as keen as the kirk session to pursue moral offences and as fining for office was not as common as in St. Bartholomew's, it was very unlikely that this source of revenue was as plentiful as on the mainland.

Comparatively large sums of money could still be obtained from bequests. Just how common these were is difficult to judge, due to the extremely poor survival of wills. However, several bequests were recorded in the accounts.

Year	Name	Amount
1689	Sir Peter Betion	£ 5
1694	Mr. Gray	£ 3
1696	Sir Wm Story	£50
1698	Sir Wm Domville	£50

Table 4 Surviving Bequests in St. Bride's

Those of Sir Wm Domville and Sir William Story were very large and judging by the findings in the other two parishes, the smaller amounts of £3 and £5 would have been more common. It was not unusual for the benefactors to stipulate how the money should be used. Sir William Domville wanted the interest on his £50 to be used to buy coal at Christmas. In the event the £50 was used to pay Mr. Barlow for his work on the church. It was to be replaced by the fees from burials and in the meantime the interest would be substituted by adding £5 to the sess.⁵⁰

The use of burial fees as a supplement to the poor rate was very common and has already been noted in the other parishes. The amount charged naturally varied according to the deceased's rank and wealth. A Dutch ensign was rated at 3/4, a child of one Mr. Fitzacarley at 1/6, while Madame Augre was charged £1.6.8.⁵¹ The burial fees could amount to very substantial sums of money and were a valuable additon to the poor funds.

Year	Amount	Number
1685-6	12 0 3½	55
1686-8	28 2 11½	116
1688-9	6 2 4	19
1689-90	10 16 9	46
1693 (17/10/91- 3/10/93)	14 9 5	68
1693-4	6 9 6	?
1694-5	9 16 6	41
1695-6	15 19 3	?

Table 5 Burial Rate Collections in St. Bride's

In the collection of the various contributions towards the relief of the poor St. Bride's suffered from one problem which St. Bartholomew's seems to have avoided. The donation of foreign and 'light' coins which had to be sold or exchanged cost the parish dearly - "lost by white halfpence 5/6", "loss of light and brass money £1".⁵² The problem increased after 1689 because of the large quantity of brass money minted by James II.

Despite such annoyances the parish of St. Bride's seems

to have been as adept as those of the Canongate and St. Bartholomew's at raising money for the use of the poor. Doubtless too there were other methods which the remaining records do not illustrate. Certainly the parish could raise sufficient to look after its own poor and any others the vestry cared to help.

D) Who received assistance?

As elsewhere in the British Isles it was likely that the distinction between stranger and resident was as important as that between 'able-bodie' and impotent poor. The parish authorities would always be more willing to help someone they knew than a stranger. It is possible to divide the recipients into similar groups to those discovered in London and Edinburgh.

The major beneficiaries were those on the regular poor roll and who received assistance all the year round. In St. Bride's even less is known about this group than elsewhere, but it is probably safe to assume that they were mostly old and female such as 'lame Pegg' who received 4/9 in 1686.⁵³ A little more is known about their number. In 1668 twenty-one people were on the Beadle's list - a total which only fell to twenty in 1671 and 1673.⁵⁴ That the number of regular poor remained at that level was confirmed by an account of how the vestry spent the £3 left by Mr. Gray. The churchwarden listed twenty-one people in "coles and money" and "two poor men in money".⁵⁵ As in St. Bartholomew's the poor were issued with badges which they were expected to wear. These seem to have been first issued in 1681 when

sixteen were bought.⁵⁶ The total of regular poor was very close to those estimated for the parishes of St. Bartholomew's and the Canongate - despite the difference in population size.⁵⁷ Indeed the similarity presents the possibility that there may have been some school of thought which recommended that approximately two dozen people should be on the regular poor roll.

As in the English and Scottish parishes, relief was not limited to the regular payments. Others received temporary payments. One of the largest components of this group would have been made up of children. In Dublin too, single women found themselves with bastard children and with no support from the father. Whether they looked after their offspring or left them on someone's doorstep, the child inevitably became the responsibility of the parish. If the child was abandoned it was normal practice to pay some old woman to nurse the child.

"Margaret Murray of Bollemaghfin, to have
50/= for nursing a parish child.

Ann Scrivener of Little Bell Alley to have
45/= for nursing another child left at
Ld Kingstons Door".⁵⁸

These entries suggest that, in contrast to St. Bartholomew's where the nurses were paid weekly, in St. Bride's they were given a block payment. If this was the case the nurse would have had little interest in caring for the child once she had received the money. Even when the nurses were paid weekly the chances of survival were not high due to a combination of disinterest and too many children to look after - "keeping a child left at Sir William Barkers Rails - it died living 24

weeks at 1/6 per week".⁵⁹

Children were not the only sufferers from illness and the vestry would often make payments to those who could not earn their living when ill or who needed specialised medical help. Thus 1/6 was paid to the "poor woman almost blinde of the Kings Evill".⁶⁰ Another "poor woman that was found wounded in Ship Street" was taken to a "chirurgion" and cost the parish 10/6.⁶¹ Though this was a large sum it was worth every penny if it meant that the woman did not become a permanent burden on the parish. Payments in time of illness could form a major drain on the poor resources - in 1676 they totalled £3.17.2 which was over twenty percent of all poor relief payments.⁶² For some the supply of medicine could do little good. St. Bride's, like St. Bartholomew's, had to pay for the burial of the poor. Unlike St. Bartholomew's the Great, the cost in St. Bride's did not vary a great deal - a poor woman's funeral cost 8/6 while 14/6 bought the coffins for several poor.⁶³

The study of the other parishes has already shown that the authorities accepted no responsibility for people detained in prison. This attitude was no different in Dublin and it was left to the parishes to support the impoverished prisoners. In 1674 a collection was made on "low Sunday which was given to a converted fryar then prisoner".⁶⁴

St. Bride's could no more escape making payments to some strangers than could any of the other parishes. Unfortunately the condition of the records does not make it possible to estimate the number or status of those assisted. In 1676

19/- was paid out to "poor not entitled" which was only 6% of the total outlay that year.⁶⁵ The accounts give a few indications that strangers were helped. In 1685 three poor people were listed without names - an indication that they may have been strangers.⁶⁶ However the editing that has been carried out on the records has made it impossible to go into any more detail.

On one occasion the authorities did encourage the parishes to assist strangers. After the unrest and war of 1689 to 1690 many homeless Protestants headed towards Dublin. The vestry book describes the

"distressed Protestants forced to leave their habitations in the Country by the Irish Rebels and were in Dublin with their wives and children and ready to perish unless relieved".⁶⁷

An Act from the Bishop of Meath put their number at six hundred and ordered the churchwardens to collect charity.⁶⁸ How much was actually donated by St. Bride's has not survived in the records.

The parish was also expected to contribute money to worthy causes outwith its bounds. In 1691 a sess of £2.17.2 was collected "to repair the wooden bridge at the Earl of Howlins Green by order of the Court of King's Bench".⁶⁹ More often such collections were initiated by the Corporation of Dublin. In 1688 it decided that the voluntary collections towards a poor house were insufficient and sessed the parishes.⁷⁰ In 1687 "each parish [was] ordered to collect money for the relief of prisoners of the Turk in Sally [Salle, Morocco]".⁷¹

On the evidence of the surviving records St. Bride's did not have to collect for outside causes as often as the other parishes but this may be a false picture created by the poor record survival.

It has already been noted in earlier chapters that not all relief was paid in specie. In this St. Bride's was no exception. In 1683 a "Poor House [was] ordered to be built with Mr. Butlers legacy".⁷² This was probably a replacement for the one noted in 1671 as built upon waste ground.⁷³ It was opened on 6th December and contained six women, John Barry and his wife and two others who did not get an allowance.⁷⁴ As with its equivalent in St. Bartholomew's it was not large enough to house all the poor widows and there was a waiting list. In 1692 Anne King and William Price were to be admitted as soon as anyone died.⁷⁵ In 1683 five beds (£1.8.9) and five grates (14/3) were bought for the house.⁷⁶ This suggests that there were five rooms and that the old widows had to share beds - a common enough practice.

Coal was often distributed to the poor especially in the winter when it was vital for heating and cooking. The difficulties of winter were well recognised and in 1683 a complaint

"was made to the Table of Aldermen of the distressed condition of the poor of this attie in consequence of the hardness of the frost and the continuance of the cold weather so long . . . "77

The interest on Sir William Domville's bequest was used by the churchwarden in 1692 to buy "3 tun of coals at 19/= per tun and

7/= carriage - wh they distributed amongst 19 people". The next year they purchased "5 tun at 18/= & carrying 2/= per tun" and distributed amongst twenty-nine people including the Beadle (two barrels), Limeburner's wife (one barrel), Mr. Witherall's poore woman (one barrel) and "Ould Thomas yt sweeps the streets" (two barrels).⁷⁸

The churchwarden also provided clothes for the poor, spending 2/= in 1693 to get shoes and stockings for David Hoyle.⁷⁹ The records show no evidence of the other types of relief such as paying rents, purchasing food or arranging apprenticeships. This could be due to the inadequacy of the records rather than the fact that they were not used. What is known about relief in the parish compares so closely with the practice in St. Bartholomew's and the Canongate that it is extremely likely that the other methods would have been used. The resources available and the beneficiaries of relief appear to have been very similar in all three parishes. It is now time to see if, despite the lack of legislation, the relief organised in St. Bride's was as effective as elsewhere.

E) The Effectiveness of Relief

Unfortunately the paucity of the sources makes it impossible to come to any conclusions about changes in relief over time (see Table 6). Five years is not a sufficient period from which to calculate trends. It is not even possible to be certain which of the two levels of relief present was the normal one. From the amount normally collected it would be

expected that the higher level was the more usual. Yet even this was considerably below what was paid by St. Bartholomew's (c. £60) despite the fact that St. Bride's was a larger parish.

Year	Amount
1685-6	49.16. 8
1686-7	48. 5. 6
1687-8	24. 5. 5
1688-9	11. 1. 1½
1689-90	48.10. 5½

Table 6 The Amount of Relief Awarded by St. Bride's Vestry

As individual payments do not appear to be lower than in London, the vestry must have been helping fewer people. Whether this was because there were fewer to help in St. Bride's or because the vestry was stricter than its English counterpart, is difficult to gauge on the existing evidence. What indications there are do not suggest that the parish was comparatively free of the poor.⁸⁰

If, as in England, the parishes own poor formed approximately 5% of the population then 150 people were in need of help. Yet the accounts for 1689-90 only listed forty-five names.⁸¹ In reality the number wanting aid would have been further raised by strangers - especially during the crisis of 1689-90. Could it be that fewer were helped because the majority were 'papists' and the vestry did after all ignore them? This certainly seems to be the opinion of Mr. MacLysaght.⁸²

As on the mainland little provision was made to provide work. The corporation did plan a workhouse in which the poor were to

be put to

"carding, spinning, weaving, brutting,
rasping of logwood and fustiche and beateing
of hempe, and other sorte or work, according
to their capacities . . . ",

but this was not actually set up until the next century.⁸³ The parish did have its own poor house but that was purely a place of residence. It was also expensive to keep in good repair and drew resources from other needs as evidenced by the two collections for it in 1684.

Relief was obviously of benefit to those who received it; the problem was that not as many people were receiving it in Dublin as on the mainland. The system did not have a base of legislation on which the parish could build - perhaps too much was left to individual initiative. It is hard to escape the conclusion that a lower proportion of the needy was being helped in Dublin than in the other capitals. Edward MacLysaght would appear to be correct in his conclusion that the great majority of poor were left uncared for. While reality rarely matched the aims of the legislation (which was in any case often partially ignored), the example of St. Bride's perhaps shows that the legislation was still needed.

(v) THE QUAKERS

Every parish studied has had its more extreme protestant fringe. In St. Bride's there resided members of one of the more puritanical groups - the Quakers. In Dublin as a whole there may have been about two hundred families in 1685.⁸⁴ Thanks to the existence of the Friends Library in Dublin, a large number of records from the seventeenth century are still in existence.⁸⁵ The meeting house in St. Bride's Street was one of the more important as for many years it was the National Meeting House.⁸⁶ Though the minutes of the St. Bride's group no longer exist, a great deal can be learnt from the National Meeting Minutes.⁸⁷

In many ways their attitudes and organisation were like those of the kirk session in the Canongate though what was public policy in the latter was left to a voluntary group in St. Bride's. Like it the friends believed in exercising 'discipline' over the members. They were especially concerned with enforcing a high level of morality - "William Stanly hath been present . . . about an oath that was said he hath taken and that he Denyes to have taken or sworne an oath vocally".⁸⁸ Unlike the elders, the friends were keen to discourage drinking and fine dress, even at funerals and weddings.

" . . . special care to be taken to keep out of excess in provisions of victualls and feasting, and all unsavoury discourse or deportment at their houses afterwards and also that all concerned avoid decking or dressing themselves more than at another time".⁸⁹

The leaders were especially worried about the "Wine Brandy or strong waters, cakes pipes and tobaccos which is very unbecoming

the occasion".⁹⁰ However as these regulations were often repeated it seems that the Quaker leaders had as much trouble as the Anglicans in persuading the general membership to obey its rulings. The worry about excess even extended into business and the national executive had to consider

"what is nott fitt to be made or sold by friends (vizt) flowered silkes, striped stuffe or anything else that may dishonour truth or give offence".⁹¹

Like the kirk session, the influence of the Quakers could cover great distances. In one case a group in England asked the Dublin friends to find the mother of one Sarah Baniety to discover what her daughter's marriage plans were.⁹² The officials also encouraged members to spy on their neighbours in a similar way to that encouraged in the Canongate.⁹³

The minutes suggest that good neighbourhood was very important - hardly surprising in a small group with many enemies. Members appeared voluntarily before meeting to have their problems solved like

"Richard Pearce having laid before this meeting that there is some difference between him and Richard Scot which he desires may be ended by friends".⁹⁴

Charity and education figured prominently in the minutes. While most of the aid was directed towards fellow friends such as Elizabeth Cuppage, outsiders were also helped as when money was collected to help captives in Algiers.⁹⁵ In education the Quakers were interested in more than just academic studies. The teachers and parents were to educate the youth

"to keep . . . to plainness of apparrell and

honest labour, out of finery and vain needless things in plain dresses even from their birth upwards and also in plainness of speech or simple language, sober in Conversation and behaviour to honest and profitable employment such as may be beneficial and servicable to their families".⁹⁶

The Quakers were reluctant to admit to any regulation with which they did not agree and because of this they suffered persecution under both the Anglicans and Catholics.⁹⁷ However they were allowed to be free of the city and proved to be most successful businessmen.⁹⁸ After 1690 the Anglicans came to see the Quakers as allies and the amount of persecution declined. In St. Bride's they kept very much to themselves - holding their own services and not using the Anglican church. No mention of them was made in the surviving parish records though they do seem to have been willing to hold office if appointed.⁹⁹ What role they played in parish life is difficult to gauge but they would probably have been among the more successful tradesmen.¹⁰⁰

(vi) SECULAR CONTROL IN ST. BRIDE'S

A) Sources and Background

The field of law enforcement seems to have suffered more than any other from the destruction of the records in the early twentieth century.¹⁰¹ No court records appear to survive for the period under study - leaving a large gap in the picture of life in Dublin. The lack of legal records is matched by a scarcity of city and parish records. For Dublin as a whole the historian must more or less rely on the Calender of the Ancient Records.¹⁰² At the parish level the major problem is once again the selectivity of those who copied the original records.

The scarcity of primary sources is reflected in the small number of works produced by later historians. The only significant work is J.P. Starr's thesis 'Enforcing Law and Order in Eighteenth Century Ireland - a study of Irish Police and Prisons 1665-1800'.¹⁰³ Not surprisingly most of the material used was post 1700. Edward McLysaght spends some time dealing with depravity and lawlessness but he seems rather too keen to blame all the problems and faults on the influence of the English.¹⁰⁴

In theory the system of law enforcement in Dublin was simple enough - being very similar to London - but the lack of evidence makes it difficult to discern what happened in practice. The structure of courts in Dublin would have been similar to those present in London.¹⁰⁵ There were of course some differences in practice, for instance there was no 'habeas

corpus' in Ireland until 1692 while it had been enacted in England in 1679. However it was unlikely that these differences would have radically affected law enforcement. As in England each parish had at least one constable who was responsible to the Justices of the Peace - in this case the Mayor of Dublin, the Recorder and six Aldermen.¹⁰⁶ Though the remaining records do not state it, the constable was probably selected by the vestry rather than the magistrates. In some areas with a small number of Protestants, it was not unknown for this official to be a Roman Catholic. This would have been much less likely in Dublin which had a large Protestant majority. It is impossible to show how the system worked as a whole, all that can be done is to use the few remaining parish documents to demonstrate law enforcement at its lowest level.

B) The Constable

The office of constable in Ireland was for all purposes identical to that in England. In Dublin as in London the officers were expected to do more than merely arrest suspected felons. They were to collect the money for cleaning the streets, collect fines from misbehaving hackney carriage drivers, "be diligent in observing the laws against swine loose in the streets", and help in the collection of the hearth tax.¹⁰⁷ The constable was also to assist the churchwarden in enforcing Sunday observance by

"during the tyme of divine service goe about
and take up all such as frequent tipling houses
and taverns and those that keep open such houses
on the Lords Day and bring before some Justice

of the Peace".¹⁰⁸

Similar legislation could be found in London and Edinburgh and it was probably as ineffective in Dublin as it was in England's capital.

In Dublin the constable was also known as the "tipstaffe" after his symbol of authority and weapon. He was expected to assist the churchwarden in clearing the parish of idle persons and was offered a bounty of 1/= for each one removed.¹⁰⁹

There were few references to the constable in the St. Bride's records though a warrant was issued in 1685 to clear the parish of idle persons.¹¹⁰ It would appear that the parish had only one constable as the only other reference was in 1673 when the vestry "paid one to assist ye constable to take two women before My Lord Mayor".¹¹¹

Several officials were expected to render the constable assistance. The most notable was the churchwarden who co-operated (at least in theory) in the removal of vagrants and the enforcement of the morality laws. The Beadle was also expected to co-operate in the removal of vagrants and to "prevent . . . any impropriety in thh vicinity of the church at all times of day".¹¹² To this end he was equipped with a lantern to enable him to patrol at night. The Beadle in a London parish would have had very similar duties. Another assistant was the 'bang-beggar' or 'whip beggar'. As his name suggests he was expected to drive strangers outside the parish bounds.¹¹³ Though the records of the vestry do not refer to this official in the 1680's or 1690's, in 1774 the

parish had two who were to "perambulate the parish constantly and when called upon to seize sturdy beggars and vagrants and commit them to the watch house".¹¹⁴ The parish did not have a jail in the seventeenth century; it did possess stocks as a deterrent against misbehaviour. As in the other parishes the vestry was responsible for their maintainance and spent £1.11.1 in 1693 "making and finding timber for stocks".¹¹⁵

The constable in St. Bride's was also in charge of the parish watch. This was composed of sess-paying inhabitants (or their substitutes) who patrolled the parish in times of darkness. In the late eighteenth century the watch was at a very low standard, "so enfeebled by age or weakened by their labour in the daytime" they were unable "either to attack or pursue rogues" - the situation would have been little better in the 1690's.¹¹⁶ The watch was not popular and it was apparently common for those selected to pay substitutes to take their place. This of course would have lowered the standard even further. St. Bartholomew's also had a watch, however it was not equipped in the same way as that in St. Bride's. The Dublin watch was armed with an assortment of vicious - if antiquated - weapons. In 1701 Mr. Hughling paid £1.10.0 for "watch bills". In all the parish had "twelve watch bills with stands in the constables possession".¹¹⁷ This was not a new development as in 1665 14/= had been paid for "mending the bills".¹¹⁸ The watch was also equipped with whistles and lanterns - probably to insure that wrongdoers could hear and see them coming. In the country parishes it was common for

the watch to be equipped with firearms, but this had not yet spread to Dublin.¹¹⁹

The arming of the watch would have been in at least part a result of the fear the Protestants harboured about the Roman Catholics. A further safeguard was the billeting of the militia in the parishes. In 1679-80 a sess was made for the militia and for "the regiment".¹²⁰ This was to provide "fire and candle" which was the traditional requirement for the armed forces.¹²¹ The provision of these units did not guarantee law and order as the city discovered during the rule of James II when a proclamation admitted "that several soldiers . . . have . . . committed some wast and spoyle on houses in the City".¹²²

St. Bride's certainly needed the services of the constable and his various assistants as it was not a totally peaceful parish. Throughout the remaining accounts there is evidence of violence and robbery. In 1693 a woman was "found wounded" and had to be taken to a surgeon.¹²³ Some violence was caused by drunkenness and this was probably the reason the vestry had to spend 14/= "mending church windows broken at Capt Pocts funeral".¹²⁴ The parish was also infested with thieves. In 1669 St. Bride's church was broken into and a sess was collected "by occasion of the late sacralegious roberie" to pay for the replacement of the items stolen.¹²⁵ The other case of robbery vividly illustrates how little the authority of the parish officers impressed those outside the established social norms. In July 1692 the churchwarden recorded that £5.13.3 was "taken away of the parish Money when I was robbed".¹²⁶

If the most important parish official was not able to protect himself what chance had the ordinary parishioners?

It is not possible to compare the relative importance of the different crimes committed in St. Bride's with those in the Canongate and St. Bartholomew's. It is not even possible to decide whether or not the Dublin parish experienced more crime. What few indicators there are suggest that it certainly suffered no less from breaches of the law than the other two parishes. The similarities between St. Bride's and the mainland parishes suggest that the law enforcement agencies were dealing with similar problems in similar ways. There is no indication that 'good neighbourliness' was less important in Dublin or that the officials were more dedicated. In only one area might the attitudes have been different - St. Bride's had to deal with a large number of Roman Catholics.

C) The Problem of the Roman Catholics

The problems created by the Roman Catholics in Dublin were unique among the British capitals. In both London and Edinburgh, despite the influence and policies of James II and VII, the 'papists' formed small, if influential, minorities hanging on to the coat-tail of the monarch. Under normal circumstances and after 1690 they were too few in number to really matter. Dublin was different. Not only was it the capital of a country in which the majority of the population were still Roman Catholics, but also about 32% of its own adult males were of that religion. It was impossible for the Protestant inhabitants to forget this and it surely influenced many

of their decisions.

The attitude of the Protestant majority in Dublin depended on the political circumstances of the time. Before 1689 they felt secure enough to allow Catholics to become free of the city and join in trade - something unimaginable on the mainland. It must be admitted that this was probably due not so much to toleration but to a desire to get some of their money. It was also possible for Catholics to hold the minor parish offices though this was usually due to an inability to find a Protestant willing to serve.¹²⁷ Naturally the 'papists' were also expected to contribute towards the various taxes. By typical Irish logic the papists in St. Bride's also had to contribute to the rebuilding of the church in 1685 which inspired a later writer to comment:

"To be made in ones own land hewers of wood and drawers of water is the lot of the vanquished, and it is hard enough; but to be made hew the wood that is to be the machine of your torture, and to be made draw the dirty water that is to be thrown on you, are refinements of Saxon civilisation. Thus was St. Brides built in 1685".¹²⁸

Despite this it appears that the two religions were able to co-exist, though forces were at work to change that. The coronation of James II in 1685 and his appointment of the Earl of Tyrconnell as Lord Lieutenant in 1687 led to a gradual re-emergence of Roman Catholicism in Dublin.¹²⁹ The fear of the Catholics after the Revolution acted as a catalyst to this change. By the time James II arrived in Dublin (May 1689) it was a totally changed city with a Catholic corporation and a disarmed Protestant population.¹³⁰ Not surprisingly the

Protestant population had been alarmed and fearing that

"His Majesties Protestant subjects here were to be massacred by the Roman Catholics, and several persons in this City, either out of fear or of evil design to disturb the peace, have assembled together in the night, in a riotous and warlike manner . . .".¹³¹

The change does not seem to have affected St. Bride's greatly. The only damage reported was when 5/10 was paid for "timber and nails in the Church when they weire broken by the papist in searching for armes".¹³² There was an unconfirmed report that the old church in St. Michael le Pole was established as a nunnery - if so its existence was short. In the city as a whole it is difficult to judge what effect the change of government had as all the records for the year are lost - presumably destroyed by either the defeated Catholics or the victorious Protestants.¹³³ After 1690 the attitude of the Protestants naturally hardened. All Roman Catholics were disqualified from holding office in the city though this may not have included freemanship.¹³⁴ Between 1690 and 1699, at least eighteen proclamations were published against the 'papists' (see Table 7).¹³⁵

As in London it was suspected that inns and coffee-houses were hotbeds of sedition so it was decreed that

"all Vintners, Ale House Keepers, Inn Keepers or Coffee Sellers, natives of the Kingdom and Papists, after 25th December instant, not to sell any Wine, ale, Beer or other liquors by retail".¹³⁶

How well the laws were applied was a totally different question. The parishes and city corporation still needed the

Year	Act or Proclamation
1690	Against sheltering papists
1690	Not to live within 10 miles of a fort
1690	Not to sell wine or beer in Dublin
1690	Suspected persons not to enter Dublin
1692	Not to leave parish without licence
1690 & 1692	To deliver up arms
1692	Strangers to depart from Dublin
1699	Not to keep a horse above value of £5
1699	Recall licences to carry arms
	Arrest papish Archbishops
	Against papish clergy
	Banish papish clergy
	Reprisals against papish inhabitants
	Irish papish murders
	A papish plot
	Banish papish clergy [again]
1697	Act preventing protestants intermarrying with papists
1697	Act banishing all papists with ecclesiastical jurisdiction

Table 7 Acts and Proclamations against
Roman Catholics, 1690-1699

taxes and fees of the Catholics. In St. Bride's the Catholics formed only nineteen percent of the male adult population which may not have intimidated the Protestants too much.¹³⁷ A survey of 1697 calculated that St. Bride's was one of only two Dublin parishes which did not have Romanish clergy in it.¹³⁸ The result of the war was that the Dublin Catholics were now closer in position to Catholics on the mainland having lost many of their former privileges and the trust of the Protestants.

CHAPTER TEN CONCLUSION

This study has been concerned with a single parish in each of the three capital cities of the British Isles. There is, of course, no such thing as an 'average' or 'typical' parish. Differences existed between each of these parishes and their neighbours. Nevertheless there seems no reason to believe that the parishes studied were so unusual as to be unrepresentative of urban life in their respective cities. The comparative study of Canongate, St. Bartholomew's the Great and St. Bride's suggests that these three urban societies possessed broadly similar structures. They had largely similar economic bases. Comparatively large scale industrial enterprises (such as ship-building) were absent. They depended on craftsmen working individually and selling to the local community. Each parish had some residents from higher social groups, but craftsmen, merchants and shopkeepers were in the majority. The three parishes also had broadly similar Mean Household Sizes. Both St. Bartholomew's the Great and St. Bride's had a gradual rise in baptisms while the Canongate was able to stabilize itself after a period of decline.

As urban parishes and part of their nation's capitals, all three samples faced similar problems. All were reasonably prosperous and thus attracted extraneous paupers who added to the burden already created by the indigenous poor. The authorities also had to enforce economic regulations, minimal public hygiene standards and regulations aimed at keeping the fabric of the parish in good repair. Another major responsibility

was the enforcement of law and order. Though the parishes in London and Dublin had no powers to try cases, they were still expected to present offenders to the relevant courts.

As there were so many similar problems and responsibilities it is not surprising that similar approaches were made towards solving them. This was perhaps epitomized by their approaches to poor relief. Until recently it has been accepted that Scottish relief was inferior to that of England. The evidence of the Canongate supports the arguments of Rosalind Mitchison that this was not the case. In practice the kirk session was every bit as generous as its St. Bartholomew's the Great counterpart. Though not obliged to help the able-bodied poor it did assist those who were genuinely in need. Counter to earlier beliefs, the Scottish parishes could be just as efficient at collecting the necessary resources as those south of the border. In the seventeenth century - as English paupers sometimes found to their cost - legislation was not enough. The system would only work if the parish administrators had the will to make it succeed. In this the more religiously committed elders and deacons may have had the advantage over their English counterparts.

From the evidence available, the three parishes were equally effective (or ineffective) in the enforcement of secular law and order. None of the parishes appears to have presented a particularly high number of cases per year. Those which did appear before the courts were a mixture of minor crimes against the person or property plus a large proportion of regulative

offences. What would today be termed 'civil' business was much more common. It would seem that the secular authorities were content to do no more than the minimum to contain crime - be the reason disinterest, lack of time or a fear of creating more trouble.

In other spheres of administration, the various ruling bodies also adopted similar policies. All employed rakers to keep the streets clean - albeit unsuccessfully. All also tried to make individuals responsible for the state of the roads - again unsuccessfully. The indifference to the strictures of the various governing bodies (with the possible exception of the kirk session) is one of the stronger similarities between the parishes. This was illustrated by the continued publication of literature against beggars, against disposing of rubbish on the highways, against moral laxity, against hackney carriages, to list but a few, which were constantly ignored.

Not only were the policies of the three administrations largely similar, but those who attempted to enforce them were from similar backgrounds. In each of the three parishes it was the reasonably prosperous craftsmen and tradesmen who were responsible for the smooth running of affairs. Unfortunately we know little about the effects of their greater involvement in government in this period or the forces that brought similar people to the fore in all three kingdoms. Not only the parish rulers were prosperous but, contrary to several opinions, their officials and lieutenants also possessed a respectable level of wealth. The constables, scavengers and overseers

were usually wealthy enough to have avoided office if they had wanted to. Obviously they did not object to spending a year in the service of the parish.

Nevertheless there were also certain significant differences which are most notable in comparing the Canongate and St. Bartholomew's the Great. Though the parishes appear to have had a similar economic background, this picture may be deceiving as it is possible that the Canongate had entered a period of decline and there was no evidence of either St. Bartholomew's or St. Bride's suffering a similar fate. The Canongate was the parish most influenced by the Guilds - they did not exist in St. Bartholomew's while nothing is known about their impact in St. Bride's.

The Canongate was the largest of the three parishes and was the only one which experienced an economic decline. Over the period in question it experienced a rapid fall in population, though this had stabilized by 1695. In the other parishes the population was gradually rising as the gap between baptisms and burials increased in the former's favour.

The church - as a religious and moral force - was undoubtedly most active in the Scottish parish which was also the most unified of the three with regard to religious allegiance. The kirk session in the Canongate consistently went out and sought offenders and prosecuted them. Neither London or Dublin had the equivalent of this religiously motivated machine determined to force godliness upon the population. After the experience of the 1640's and 1650's

religious and moral policing was out of fashion in London. The members of the vestry, undoubtedly still religious, restrained any desire they may have had to enforce the moral standards expected in Scotland. The vestry had changed from an evangelical body into an administrative council more concerned with poverty, tax rates and the state of the roads than fornication, adultery or drinking on the sabbath.

Overall the similarities of response are perhaps the most striking feature. It may be possible to extend such similarities outside the physical boundaries of the British Isles. As Miss Leonard stated "In every country in Western Europe like difficulties seem to have occurred about the same time" and common problems may have led to common regulations.² Such chains of cause and effect have rarely been traced across Europe, but obviously they existed - as shown by the broad similarities in the timing and nature of witchcraft legislation, not only in the British Isles but also elsewhere in seventeenth century western Europe.

The influence of England was undoubtedly responsible for much of the similarity in approach. Henry VII had already noticed in connection with Anglo-Scottish relations that a smaller nation was bound to gravitate towards a larger.³ England and Ireland in any case shared a heritage of state development stretching back to the Anglo-Norman era, while the reign of James VI in Scotland saw English influence reach at its peak an independent Scotland.⁴ James had realised that 'ceteris paribus', he would be the next monarch of England and was keen to import English

methods in an effort to enhance the coherence of parts of his inheritance. This in part explains his changes in the Church of Scotland and his rather unsuccessful adoption of Justices of the Peace into an already complicated Scottish legal system. It was no coincidence that in the late sixteenth century Scotland introduced Poor Laws remarkably similar to those recently introduced in England.⁵

Once the two kingdoms had a common head, the parallelism became more pronounced and as the monarch reigned in London, the English experience naturally predominated. This was not necessarily reflected in the letter of the law where differences could exist between the two kingdoms. It was however apparent in the way in which the problems were approached in practice. This was very noticeable with regard to poor relief, where the Canongate kirk session was much more generous than the law required. The same could be seen in Dublin which had naturally experienced English ideas for some time. It is not surprising that the administration of poor relief in St. Bride's seems to have been almost identical to that present in St. Bartholomew's despite the fact that Dublin almost totally lacked the catalyst of legislation. English practice, if not legislation, had no difficulty crossing the channel to a city where the highest officials were English and many of the inhabitants of English and Protestant descent.

The transference of ideas was further aided by migration. In Scotland's case this was especially relevant after 1603 when the politically ambitious and powerful followed their monarch

to England's capital. At the higher levels of society the monarchy also encouraged inter-marriage between the ruling classes in the three nations. This perhaps did not reach its peak until the nineteenth century and the influence of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy on British politics. The increase in trade between the nations during the seventeenth century also brought about increased contact which surely aided the dissemination of ideas.⁶

The attitudes which influenced the actions of the administrators were also similar in all three capitals. All had been exposed to the waves of humanism, paternalism and 'Godly reformation' which had swept across Europe. Naturally these had not influenced all to the same degree which helps to explain some of the differences between the three parishes. This is most obvious in the effects of the 'Godly reformation' which by the late seventeenth century was more alive in Edinburgh than in either London or Dublin.

Overall it is the similarities of response which is the most impressive finding of this study. These reflected similar challenges which therefore must - to a degree - be a function of metropolitan scale and status as well as a broadly similar underlying demographic experience. They also reflected the influence of English ideas and institutions on nations which were slowly being drawn closer together.

APPENDIX A CANONGATE INVENTORIES

EARL OF LINLITHGOW - IN THE ABBEY

LORDS BEDCHAMBER

Ane sewed bed of silk and woisset with tour de lie of green stuff and 4 woiset kiwups with ane matt below the bed. And ane scrine for preserving it.	960	0	0
Ane feather bed bolster and 2 pillows	28	0	0
Three English blankets to 38/= sterling.	22	16	0
Ane under twilt to 20/= sterling.	12	0	0
Three peice of Aras Hangings.	533	6	8
Six green armed chairs.	25	0	0
Two green stolls.	4	0	0
Ane green easie chair.	9	0	0
Ane folding painted screne.	48	0	0
Ane chamber box.	2	8	0
Ane Cabinet, Table, broken glass and standarts	120	0	0
Five statues upon the Cabinet	21	0	0
Tuentie four china cups sacers and dishes	14	8	0
Ane tee table, 7 cups, seven sacers, ane tee pott, ane bole, ane suggar dish with ane copper tee pott belonging all to the table.	24	0	0
Sevintein peice of Delph.	6	0	0
Three large flour potts.	9	0	0
Two window curtains.	18	0	0
Six little pictures overhead.	42	0	0
	1899	18	8

DRAWING ROUME

Ane Wrying wallnutt tree table.	15	0	0
Two pictures of King William and Queen Mary.	48	0	0
Two pictures, one the History of Darius family, the other of John Baptiseing.	72	0	0
Ane frost picture.	12	0	0
Ane old fashioned gilded glass.	24	0	0
Ane wenscoat table and standarts being old.	4	0	0
Ane pendulum clock.	144	0	0
Ane little folding cedar table.	2	14	0
Ane little folding wenscoat table.	1	16	0
Two little brass sconses.	1	16	0
	154	6	0

DYNING ROUME

Three peice of Farest work Aras hangings.	120	0	0
Ane old Finnired walnuttree table and standarts.	6	0	0
Ane matt for the table.	3	0	0
	129	0	0

ANE OTHER BEDCHAMBER

Five peice of very old Arras Hangings.	96	0	0
Ane old stuff bleu bed lyned with Cessnet.	36	0	0
Four pair of blankets.	14	0	0
Two pair of little old English blankets.	4	0	0
Ane feather bed bolster and pillows.	20	0	0
Ane Dutch picture without frame.	12	0	0
Ane leather chamber box and peuther pan.	4	0	0
Ane Walnuttree glass.	15	0	0
Sevintein old cushions.	5	4	0
Two linen window curtains.	10	0	0
Ane old wenscoat chest of drawers.	8	0	0
	224	4	0

THE LITTLE CLOSETT

Ane Couthbedsteid, Curtains and covering.	9	0	0
Ane feather bed and bolster.	8	0	0
Ane old pair of blankets.	1	10	0
Ane peice of new matt.	3	0	0
Ane old resting bed.	1	0	0
Two pair of listed blankets.	3	0	0
Ane other pair of old blankets.	1	4	0
Ane chaff bed and bolster.	2	0	0
	28	14	0

THE OTHER ROUME

Two peice of old Aras Hangings.	30	0	0
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MY LADIES CHAMBER

Ane stamped Calligo bed with cornish and tops.	120	0	0
Two English blankets.	18	0	0
Two old English blankets.	5	0	0
Ane feather bed bolster and two pillows.	22	0	0
Ane whytt twilt.	12	0	0
Two pair of Aras Hangings valued at the Meidhope.	36	0	0
Ane stamped leather scrine.			
Ane Escritore, chist of drawers, Glas, table and standart.	72	0	0
The Escritore and chist of drawers.	48	0	0
The glass, table and standarts.	96	0	0
Ane table clock.	6	0	0
Two windo curtaines of old hemp tartand.	435	0	0

MISTRIS AUCHMONTIES ROUME

Four little pieces of old stript hangings.	6	0	0
Ane suite of old baes curtains and bedstead with ane old lyned calligo covering.	24	0	0
Three old English blankets.	9	0	0
Ane feather bed, bolster and ane pillow.	15	0	0
Two old calligo window curtaines.	1	4	0
	55	4	0

WOMAN HOUSE

Ane chaff bed and bolster.	2	0	0
Ane very old feather bed with few feathers.	5	0	0
Two pair of old blankets and old covering.	3	0	0
Two pair Rush and timber chairs.	2	16	0
Two old broken luit wheels.	2	0	0
	14	16	0

MR. ERSKINES ROUME

A Suite of old green curtains and bedstead.	16	0	0
Two pair of old blankets.	3	0	0
Ane feather bed bolster and pillow.	10	0	0
Old chamber box and pan.	1	10	0
	30	10	0

BUTLERS ROUME

Ane feather bed and bolster.	12	0	0
Two pair of very old blankets.	3	0	0

KITCHEN BOYS ROUME

A very old feather bed and bolster.	6	0	0
Two pair and a single one of very old blankets.	1	16	0
	22	16	0

KITCHEN

Ane large Iron grate with the pertinents.	24	0	0
Two backed iron chimneys weighing twentie stone.	24	0	0
Four duzon and five peuther trinchers and ten old peuther dishes weighting six stone.	48	0	0
Four old peuther stoups weighing fourteen pund.	4	4	0
Ane pair of brass casten candlesticks and snuffing dish and snuffers.	4	4	0
Abe pair of brass beaten candlesticks.	2	8	0
Ane pair of foll brass candlesticks.	18	0	
Four old fashioned casten brass candlesticks	3	12	0
Three pair of old Iron tongs and ane porring Iron.	1	10	0
	114	12	0

JAMES GREG (PERRIWIGMAKER) 20th APRIL 1690

Imprimes two stouped beds with courtings.	28	0	0
Item ane clos bed with ane folding bed with two ambries.	16	0	0
ane resting bed	6	0	0
ane duzon of old ruihie Lether chyres.	21	10	0
six old timber chairs.	4	4	0
three tables, two presses.	14	0	0
ane ambrie and three timber stols.	3	0	0
two sutt of striped hangings and two table clothes.	28	0	0
threi fether beds, threi bolsters.	40	0	0
two calf beds two calf bolsters.	4	0	0
ten fether coads.	7	0	0
six pair of Lining Sheits thre pair of shaving Sheits.	33	0	0
two pair of harden sheits	5	12	0
Eightein deinick servils with takell cloathes.	13	4	0
ten Lining servils.	3	0	0
Eight towels round and small.	2	8	0
Twelve trimming cloathes six head cloathes.	12	0	0
four timber chists.	10	0	0
thrie Locking glasses.	30	0	0
thrie Iron braces with thrie pair of tongues.	9	0	0
ane fyre shofell and frything pan and brander.	3	0	0
ane speit and pair of hanging ropes.	1	0	0
two smothing Irons and toasting Irone.	1	4	0
ane Irone standert two Iron pots.	4	0	0
two bras pans with ane little coper trimming pot.	4	0	0
ane Iron winter, and Iron Gross head	12	0	
seaven peuther plates.	10	10	0
six peuther trenchers.	3	0	0
ane duzon and ane half of timber trunchers.	1	18	0
two stoupes, thrie chopping stoupes.	4	16	0
ane mutching and half two gils.	1	10	0
four peuther chamber pots.	4	0	0
two chamber stols with peuther pans.	7	0	0
two peuther fleckets with peuther beasons.	4	18	0
two bras beasons, with two drinking cupes.	3	0	0
six other cupes, with ane duzon of horn spuns.	1	0	0
two bras candlesticks with two handons ane old whyt iron	4	10	0
ane lean salt fat with ane timber salt barrall.	10	0	
ane timber beif barrall, with ane timber tub.	4	0	0
ane rock and reill, with thrie spinels and old lint wheill.	1	10	0
ane Spanish busom ane riber with thrie brushes.	3	0	0
ten coverings, ten pair of blankets thertein coadnairs.	40	0	0
all his weiring clothes geiven to the defuncts brother			
to give his wife except some old things geiven to the			
man - ten razours two pair of shizers.	24	0	0
two horn combes, two timber ons with ane littell hinging			
ambrie			
Six peirinibes therof four roundabouts and two longs ons.			
Threi _____ ons	64	0	0
ane water stoup, ane coall ridell with ane bucket.	1	4	0
ane iron fleshcrok ane Iron Culot	6	0	
(illegible)	3	0	0
of lying money	12	0	0
two standing brass Candlesticks.			

 491 14 0

RELICT OF JAMES GREG

Imprimus ane closs bed and other stouped beds.	800	0	0
Item 32 Rusha Lether Chayers.	128	0	0
Item of timber chayers and stools 16.	20	0	0
Item a large wainscot Chist and 4 other chists.	15	0	0
Item ane footgauge a press of firr a Cabinet of Cedar wood and a Cave and glasses a Longsadle and ambries all worth.	1080	0	0
Item a fyne wainscot press Holland.	40	0	0
Item ane Trunk and litle Coffe.	12		
Item 4 wainscott Tables and 7 lesser ones.	34		
Item 2 dozen timber trenchers and 7 cups for drinking and others.	10		
Item 4 daye seats	12		
Item four frames and Blocks for pirowigs.	10		
Item a Large Looking glass, and 4 lesser ones.	60		
Item a neh Resting bed 2 Luit wheills ane oull wheill and two pair cairds.	18		
Item his Combs with the Raizers shizers and other furnitur of his Chop such as Combes and others.	100	0	0
Item six Iron Chimneys.	36		
Item four fyre shovells and six pair of Tonges	10		
Item four Brass flowerts and standerts before the chimneys.	6		
Item for two frying pans one of Brass and the other of Irone and ane driping pan and a driping pan and its Standert 2 branders a testing Irone a poring iron 2 spelts and great waxes and ane gooshead and flaming Irone.	100	0	0
Item ane warming bed pan.	3	0	0
Item 3 pair of standing Candlesticks and 2 pair of hanging candlesticks and 2 hand candlesticks.	40	0	0
Item 2 dozen pewther plaites 2 dozen pewther trunchers 5 savers and four poringers.	50	0	0
Item 3 pynt stoupes 5 chopen stoupes 2 muchkins 2 halfe muchkins 2 gills 2 halfe gills.	20	0	0
Item 3 pewther salt fatts.	5		
Item ane hyme salt fatt and fyve Chamber potts.	5		
Item 3 dozen of horne and pewther spoons 2 poringers 2 tumblers 2 mustard dishes 2 vinger bottles.	20		
Item four brass basons 2 Lyme and 2 pewther basones.	12	0	0
Item 7 fether and down beds.	100	0	0
Item 4 Chalfe beds.	12	0	0
Item 7 fether bolsters.	20		
Item fourtein Coads.	20		
Item four dozen of Coad wairs.	18		
Item four dozen of trimbing Clothes.	18		
Item 34 pair of Lining Sheets.	60		
Item 7 Table Clothes.	12		
Item 7 dozen naperie.	20		
Item 2 dozen towalls and 7 water Clothes.	10		
Item 8 bed shelts and 2 window Courtains.	10		
Item 3 ells of Holland in the wivers hand.	58		
Item 15 pair of fyne banketts.	30		
Item 13 Coverings.	16		
Item 5 matts.	10		

Item 6 stand of Cloth Coverings.	100		
Item 3 suit of Lining Curtains with fringes.	20		
Item four suit of hangings partly stript and partly stamped.	100		
Item 5 Cupboard table Clothes.	15		
Item ane silver dish.	36		
Item halfe an dozen of silver spoons.	35		
Item unwrought hair.	300		
Item made work and wrought hair in pirewigs.	400		
Item of Readie mony and gold.	500		
	1638	0	0

List of the defuncts Clothes

Item fyve gowns.	80		
Item ten petticoats.	90		
Item two pair of stayes.	6		
Item 7 Laised pomers and other Conforme.	48		
Item 15 suit of night Clothes.	10		
Item 10 shertts and 4 pair of stockings.	10		
Item ane pair of silke gloves and 2 pair of other gloves.	6		
Item two black hoods.	8		
Item ane new plaid.	15		
Item 2 pair of shooes and ane pair of slippers.	3		
Item ane mantle with ane old plaid.	6		
Item 6 aprons thereof on stamped Caligo.	8		
Item four Rings of gold.	15		
Item ane bible	6		
Item four Raills of musling and Caligo.	12		
Item four whyte hoods.	7		
Item ane whyte strip peticoat.	3		
Item ane new alamot skarfe.	6		
	339	0	0
	3882	0	0

EDWARD SINCLAIR (LITSTER) 25th NOVEMBER 1691

Ane old feir naill and box ane old Iron plate 4 old chyres thereof 2 broken. Item ane little fir tablè ane fir bed broken in the joynts. ane little iron old brace. Item 2 grose of litster paipers being old and Reninews. Item 2 old litle potts ane armed timber chyre 2 old Lether chyres ane litle old fir ambrie. Item 4 litle broads of fire . . . in all £35.14.00 Scotts.

JOHN DUNCAN (TAILOR) 29th JANUARY 1687

. . . ane old wanscott closs bed (£15) ane old wanscott ambrie (£12) ane wanscott table (£15) ane iron brace (£9) thrie fir chairs (£2) ane fir long tpàle (£5) ane cask bed (£1) two pair round climbetts (£3) ane calf bolster (12/=) ane pair of tongs (8/=) ane firr cheyr (£2) and firr bed (30/=) ane pewter plait (£1) ane iron pott (30/=) ane pan (30/=) several other small things not worth £5.

THOMAS KILGOUR (TAILOR) 25th APRIL 1696

. . . imprimus ane standeing bed ane standeing press ane litle narrow press or almrie two Little chests ane serving the work table two old trunks ane gantries Item ane beif stank with an lide or cover Item ane noall wheill ane lantron. Item ane hanging bress candlestick. Item ane pair of snuffers ane pair of small bress candlesticks. Some small lame plaits sevin peuther plaits and halfe ane duzon of trunchers. Item ane sett of peuther stoups being old. Item two chamber potts and a chamber stool. Item ane duzone Chopein glass bottles. Item ane meall stand. Item ane pote. Item four pair of Lining sheitts halfe torne. Item threi pair of hardon sheitts. Item 8 old coadnairs. Item 2 duzon of old Lineing and dornick naprie. Item ane old table cloath. Item six old Toulls. Item ane sute of old hangings. Item three peice of old cloath curteins. Item ane fether bed bolster and two coads. Item ane timber stouped beed ane armed chayer. Item halfe a duzon other chayers. Item ane gless or Mirrouer being litle. Item two litle tables ane chamber box ane sute of old stufe Courtains. Item a fether bed bolster and two Coads. Item and Langsadle. Item a folding table and a Cooking table. Item ane old _____ Creddele. Item halfe a duzone of old chayers. Item ane litle Mirrouer gless. Item 9 pairs of Blankits. Item ane sarge Covereing. Item two round covers. Item two chafe beds and bolsters. Item 2 panns. Item three braces or Chimneys with tongs and some other Iron work. Item two litle Timber Chayers and two stoalls. Item two litle strip table cloaths. Item halfe ane duzone of timber _____ chers. Item two drinking neckes. Item ane old litle wheill. Item two reills. Item three Chopin cups.

Value £218.10.00

APPENDIX B ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S INVENTORIES

THOMAS HARLOW (DRAPER)

In the Garret 1 still, 1 trunk, 1 screen, 2 ruggs,
1 desk with other lumber. 1 10 0

In the Room, 2 paire of Staires 1 bedstead, curtain and
vallence, 1 featherbed and boulster 2 pillows 1 rugg,
1 blanket, 6 chaires and stools, 1 table. 2 15 0

In the Room over the Shop 1 bedstead, curtain, and
vallence, 1 feather bed and boulster, 3 pillows, 1 rug,
3 blankets, 1 quilt, 1 pair wrought curtaine and vallence,
1 chest of drawers, 5 chairs and stools, 1 table, 1 pair
of iron fenders. 7 4 2

Room over the Kitchen 1 bedstead curtain and vallence,
1 featherbed and boulster, 5 pillows, 1 quilt, 1 pair
blankets, 4 chairs, 2 chest of drawers, 1 looking glass,
2 tables, 1 grate and fenders, 1 pair of Andirons, a
pair fire shovells and tongs, the window curtains and rode
and hanging in the room. 9 8 0

Kitchen 1 grate and fenders, 1 pair of andirons, 2 pot
racks, 1 pair of fire shovell and tongs, 1 grid iron and
frying pan, 1 chopping knife, 1 Jack, 2 Lyitts, 6 brass
candlesticks, 1 pair bellows, 1 warming pan, 1 lyice
box, 8 chairs, 7 cushions, 1 table and carpet, 1 looking
glass, 1 pot, 2 kettles, 2 skilletts, 1 _____, 1 brass
cullender with a parcel of leithle war. 4 5 0
58lb of pewter at 6d per lb. 3 10 0

Cellar a pair of washing tubs, 1 forme and a prell of
glass bottles. 0 5 0

In the Shopp 91 holland and dowlie shifts and shirts,
69 ditto of Osenbridges, 48 childrens shifts, 56 pair
of sheete table clothes, 15 dozen napkins, 13 dozen
cloute, 70 aprons, 42 mantles and blankets, 19 flannel
shifts and waistcoats, 88 frocks, 40 pair of pillow
beers, 996 elle of Osenbreggs, 310 elle of doughlax,
2 peire ditto, 30 elle of holland and diaper, 30 childrens
coats, 80 yards of dried linen, 4 pieces of fastian, a
prell of Craye remnants, 1 piece of canvas, 6 pieces of
hessian with a prell of small linen, a prell of hoods and
scarves. 125 2 0

In the warehouse 5 bias clothe, 17 pettycoats, 17 womans
gownes, 18 girls gownes, 12 girls gownes and petticoats,
24 childrens coats, 15 pieces of craye, 1 piece of drugget,
2 peices of camlett, 3 pieces of shaloone, 102 yards of
tans (cloth) and drugget, 2 pieces of _____, a prell
of damaged callicos, 7 peices of buctrain, two dozen of
steckins, 5 camlett coats, 7 peices of tapsells, 100 elle
of ell wide linen, 40 elle of holland, 40 yards of
swanskin, 20 yards of searge, 70 yards of flannell, 22
yards of bayes, 16 pair of stays, a prell of cushins,

60 boys coats and suits, a prell of boats, 5 dozen pinichers, 1 table and carpet, 6 chairs and stools, 1 chest of drawers, 2 curtains and rods, 1 prell of bond granes, a pallet bedstead and bed, a prell of old cloths and stays and linen.	35	12	0
His wearing apparell, woolen and linen.	5	0	0
21 ounce of plate at 5/2 per ounce.	5	5	0
Ready money in the house.	5	0	0
Good debts.	320	8	2
Doubtful Debts.	69	10	9
	622	15	3

WILLIAM BRIGGINS

<u>Room 1 pair of Staires</u> a feather bed bolster, pillows, blankets and bed stead tester, curtains and vallens bedcloth and chest of drawers and trunk, 3 chairs and stools.	3	10	0
<u>Little Room, 1 pair of staires</u> bedstead, ruggs, blankets, curtins and vallens, a chest trunk and old chair.	0	12	0
<u>Another Little Room, 1 pair of staires</u> a $\frac{1}{2}$ bedsted, featherbed bolster, pillows, a rug, 2 blankets and chest box and chair.	1	10	0
<u>The Great Room</u> Iron printed hangings about the room, a bed steed, curtins, vallens, a rug, 3 blankets and 3 chairs, a stole, a looking glass, fender, shovel, tongs, brase and Andirons and window curtains and rodd.	4	10	0
<u>In the clossett</u> Silver tankard, a cup, spoons and salts.	10	0	0
<u>In the Room 2 pair of stairs</u> hangings abt the room, bed steed, matt, iron rode tester, headcloth, feather bed bolster, 2 pillows, 3 blanketts, a rugg, 5 chairs, a chest of drawers, a trunk, a little table, 2 stools, fire irons shovell and tongs and other odd things.	3	10	0
<u>In the Garret</u> $\frac{1}{2}$ headed bedsteed, curtains vallens.	0	6	0
<u>In the large room, 1 P^r of stayrs</u> A Clock, large oval table, a table bedstead and chayrs.	4	0	0
<u>Kitchen</u> 2 tables, 5 chairs and stolls, grates, Andirons, Shovells and tongs, prongs, spitts, a jack and a copper.	3	0	0
<u>Buttery</u> large pewter dishes, small of several sizes, 12 plates with some other odd pewter.	2	10	0

4 pots, brass skillets, saucepans with some other odd lumber.	3	0	0
<u>Linen</u> sheets, table cloths, pillow beers, towells with odd linen.	5	0	0
<u>Shop</u> Scales, counter partitions etc.	3	0	0
deceased 'value' of shop goods.	50	0	0
debts owing to William in partnership with his son William	130	0	0
Ready Money	150	0	0
deceaseds wearing apparell	2	0	0
	376	8	0

PERCIVAL GOLDING (BUTTON MAKER)

<u>Garret</u> Bedstead, feather bed and boulder, 2 blankets, coverlett with some other furniture.	3	18	0
Deceased wearing appariel, books and watch.	17	15	0
58 ozs of plate at 5/= an ounce.	14	12	6
Linen.	5	18	8
<u>Chamber lower</u> Bedstead, feather bed and bolster, three pillows, blanket and quilt. Curtains and vallens with some other furniture.	7	14	6
<u>Back Chamber</u> Bedstead, matt or cord feather bed and boulder. 2 pillows, 3 blankets and quilt with some other furniture.	5	0	0
<u>In the Parts</u> One Table and Carpet, 3 cane Squabbs with some other furniture.	2	9	0
<u>In the Kitchen</u> 120lbs of pewter, 30lbs of brass, the grates and all the iron work with some other furniture and lumber.	8	10	0
<u>Wash house and Seller</u> The furnace, some coals, tubbs and lumber.	6	2	0
Lease of the dwelling house.	54	0	0
Lease of the house adjoyning.	20	0	0
<u>Shopp</u> 965 gross of buttons at several sorts.	42	13	0
21 lb 4 oz of silke.	19	11	0
18 pieces of Galleimes and Eight dozen of loops,	7	6	4
12 great grosse of moulds, 20 gross of dyed buttons, 1 oz of thread.	6	14	0
Scales, counters and other odd things.	7	7	6
Ready money.	429	3	8
2 bonds due to the deceased (despate).	8	3	0
Book debts - good and despate.	45	5	11

THOMAS SCOTT (DRAPER)

<u>Shop</u> 278 childrens coats, mantles and frocks (£30.7.0)			
91 ells of Dowlas and 91 pair of sheets at £38.0.0.	68	7	0
940 ells of Osingbrigs, 6 pieces and some remnants of Lastings.	33	7	8
363 ells of hammels, 23 pillowbeers, 19 dozen and 2 pieces of table linen, 2 pieces draper and 25 yards of linen.	28	13	3
22 dozen and 2 shifts, one pair w ^H curtaines, one piece draper 5 peices sustain and 27 yards of muslin.	33	5	0
Parcel of childrens shoes, stockings, wivlers and pinaiskins.	1	6	0
6 dozen clouts, 3 buring suits, 3 dozen towels, 12 aprons, 8 surrcaps, 18 ells holland and calico, 45 yards Bays, 1 peice and some remnants of lincey and parcels of old linen, sleats and silks.	16	6	0
116 yards and 6 pieces of stufts, 2 pieces of searge and odd things.	18	8	0
Parcel of Bibles and other books.	6	9	0
<u>Kitchen</u> One grate, 1 fender, 1 Jack, 1 spit, 6 brass candlesticks, tongs shovell, 2 kettles, 3 potts and other lumber.	5	1	6
106 lbs of pewter (2.19.0), 59 ozs of silver and 10 penny weieglit ____ plate (14.17.6) one ring (18/6).	18	15	0
<u>Up one pair of Stairs</u> 2 tables, 1 carpet, 8 chaires 1 looking glass, 1 grate, 1 fender, shovell, tongs, Bells, 1 clock, 1 screen 2 bedsteds, curtains vallens, 3 feather bed boulsters, 4 blankets, 1 rugg, 1 quilt, 7 chairs, 1 chest of drawers, 4 pillows and coversetts.	12	4	0
<u>2 and 3 pair of stairs</u> 2 bedsteds with matts cords, 2 feather bed boulsters, 4 pillows, 4 blankets, 3 ruggs, 2 pair of curtains and vallens, 4 chairs and 1 chest of drawers	5	5	0
Deceaseds waring apparell and 3 watches.	14	0	0
Part in a ship (£25) lease of a house in Cloth Fair.	55	0	0
Stock in ship in Cloth Fair, the goods being cast up at the date hereof.	221	9	8
Cash.	28	0	0
Hopefull debts.	108	9	0
Desperate debts.	20	0	0
	700	9	4

WILLIAM WHITTINGTON (DRAPER)

Garrets A trundle bedsted, Matt and cord, a flock bed and bolster, 2 old bedsteds, matts and cards, green curtains and vallences, 2 feather beds and bouldsters, 4 pillows, 2 rugs, 4 blankets, 12 chairs and stooles, a table, a chest, 4 trunks, a settle and forme and lumbers. 3 7 6

Chamber, 2 pair of Stairs A bedsted, matt, cord and rodde, a feather bed, 2 bouldsters, a flocke bed, 2 pillows, a rugg, 3 blankets, green curtains and vallance, hanging round the room, window curtains and rods, 2 chests of drawers, an old chest, 3 green cupboard cloths, 7 chairs, a Close Stole, and pan fire irons, brass Andirons, a pair of Creepers, 5 pair of tongs, 3 fire shovells, 3 forks a pair of bellows, a warming pan, 2 old Cushions and 2 looking glasses. 7 0 0
Deceaseds wearing apparell and arms. 10 10 0

The Linen 17 pair of sheets, fine and course, 4 dozen of Diap Napkins, 4 table cloths, 7 dozen flaxen Napkins, 12 table cloths, 18 pair pillow beares, great and small and 3 dozen towells. 14 10 0

Kitchen Jack and weight, grate and fender, 2 fire shovells, a fork, a pair of Tongs, 2 pair of racks, a roaster, a pair of bellows, Iron Worms, Iron Andirons, 6 spits, 4 dripping pans, 3 baking pans, 2 slices, a ladle, a skimmer, a brass cullender, brass snuffers, Odd pieces of Tinn with Wooden and leather wares, 4 brass potts, 1 brass cover, 4 brass kettles, 6 brass skilletts, 2 brass mortars, 1 pestle, 2 tables, 16 chairs and stools, 6 cushions, chest of drawers, spice box, a Desk, looking glass, prell of books and 2 lb of pewter. 14 10 6

Little Kitchen A jack, small grate, and fender, Iron Andirons, shovell, fork and pair of tongs, bellows, Pott Rack, 2 Chopping Knives, Candle Box, Salt Box, 3 brass candlesticks, 2 small iron potts, skillet, saucepan, frying pan, Table, Couch, 4 chairs and leaden cistern and lumber. 4 0 6
Plate weighing 124 ounces at 5/2 per ounce. 32 0 0

Celler Coales, faggots and lumber. 1 10 7

Shopp Shalloons, 1,011 yds fine and course. 63 18 10
Padawegs, 56 yards. 3 10 0
Shaggs, 127 yards fine and course. 22 15 0
Callinmantos, 52 yards. 5 4 0
Dyed Linen, 291 yards. 6 19 6
Callicoos, 323 yards. 16 3 0
Dyed Hollands, 158 yards. 4 12 2
Crape, 1452 yards fine and course. 27 0 0
Broad Cloth, 295 yards fine and course. 76 1 0
Searge, 720 yards fine and course. 58 11 0
Drugget, 84 yards. 7 0 0
Single Camlett, 75 yards. 2 16 3

Bow dyed Searge, 3½ yards.	0	4	0
Flannel, 253 yards broad and narrow.	12	0	0
Cotton, 45 yards.	2	5	0
Fushions, 55 ends and ½ of all sorts.	33	10	0
Prell of Whale Bone.	2	0	0
Rersey, 100 yards.	5	10	0
Canins, 119 ells.	6	1	0
Bayes, 209 yards.	11	5	0
Fryes, 57 yards, fine and course.	6	12	0
Silk and hair coat buttons, 21 grosse.	2	12	6
Silk Brest buttons, 30 grosse.	1	10	0
Coat Buttons (Gimpe), 50 grosse.	2	5	0
Breast Buttons (Gimpe), 10 grosse.		5	0
Silver and Gold Buttons, 3 grosse.		9	0
Silk Goloom, 7½ grosse.	3	0	0
Thread Goloom, 1½ grosse.	0	8	0
Taffety Ribbon, 4 groose.	2	0	0
Ferret Ribbon, 4 groose.	2	5	0
Cotton Ribbon, 3. groose.	0	16	0
Ordinary Tapes, 7½ dozen.	1	15	0
Benardin Silke, 13 lbs.	11	1	0
Harders Silke, 6 lbs.	3	0	0
White Thread, 1½ lb.	0	6	0
Coloured Thread, 4 dozen.	4	10	0
Allamode, 25 yards.	2	10	?
Syus, 2½ dozen.	0	8	0
Pinns, 1 dozen.	0	4	0
Past board, 7 groose.	3	12	0
Prell of yards and ells.	0	2	0
Counters, drawers and shelves.	1	10	0
Ready Money.	211	0	0
	716	17	9
<u>Debts</u> John Sherman (a bond).	6	0	0
Several persons a book.	3	0	0
Chas Tracey (bond).	82	0	0

JOHN GIBBONS (DRAPER)

<u>Kitchen</u> 2 tables, 6 chairs, 1 range, fender, fire shovel, tongs and fork, pair of bellows, 1 Jack, weight and pulleys, 1 spit, 1 musket, 1 Box, iron and heaters, 1 brass fire shovel and tongs, 1 brass Cullender, 1 brass chafing dish, 3 brass candlesticks, 1 looking glass, 1 spice box, 1 brass pot, 1 small sauce pan, 1 brass kettle, 1 water Tub, 8 pewter dishes, 10 pewter plates, 6 pewter _____, 1 powdering tubb, 1 flour tub, 1 wooden bowl and tray and some tin and earthen ware, 1 copper pot, 1 pail.	3	4	6
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<u>Hall</u>	1 table, 4 old chairs, 2 pictures.	0	9	0
<u>Parlour</u>	1 press bed sted, 1 feather bed and bolster, 3 blankets, 1 old rug, 2 curtains and rods, 1 table, 1 Turkey Work Carpett, 1 old Court Cupboard, 1 pair brass Andirons and 1 pair fire irons, 2 pictures, 2 colicut window curtains and rod, printed linen hangings, 3 old chairs, 1 old flock bed. A woodstep to stand up upon 1 wooden peel.	4	1	6
<u>Cellar</u>	2 Washing tubs, 2 sirkins for drink.	0	4	0
<u>Garret</u>	1 trundle bed stead, 1 old feather bed and bolster, 1 blanket and 2 old rugs, 2 old pillows, 3 old chairs, 5 old sheets, 1 dozen and $\frac{1}{2}$ of old Napkins, 2 old Table Cloths, 1 dozen old Towels.	2	10	0
<u>Shopp</u>	1 dozen fustian frocks, 7 pair coloured fustian drawers, 9 pair white fustian drawers, 6 white flannel childrens waste coats, 3 mens, 5 pairs flannel drawers for men, 3 Dimmity waste coats, 23 yards of fustian, several remnants, 1 looking glass, 1 sconce, 2 joined stools.	4	3	6
<u>Wearing Apparel.</u>		1	10	0
		18	2	6

THOMAS SHACKLETON (DRAPER)

<u>Shopp</u>	Silkes in remnants.	5	0	0
	84 yards of linen.	2	9	0
	13 yards of linen at 9 ^d per yard, for 122 yards at 10 ^d per yard, 18 Ells of Canvis, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ells of Canvis, 20 yards of Flannell, 38 yards of flannell, 51 yards of Bayes, 12 yards Bayes, 12 yards and 1 piece of Qumquo Bayes.	23	9	0
	2 peeces of Cottening (1.10.0), 3 peeces of Callico (£3), 26 lb of cloth at 2/= per pound, 15 lb of cloth at 1/= per pound, 9 peeces of shelloon at 40/= per peece, 11 yards of Bayes at 6/= per yard, 61 yards of ship linen at 9/= per yard, 97 yards of Buckterum at 10 ^d per yard, 68 yards of dyed linen at 11 ^d per yard, 49 yards at 12 ^d per yard and 20 yards of Brown linen at 10 ^d per yard.	38	17	1
	5 peeces of fustian at 13/= per peece, 3 peeces of fustian at 15/= per peece, 10 yard of double stiffened Buckterum 5/=, 20 yards of glase Holland at 14/= per yard, 20 yards White Buckterum at 15 ^d per yard, 20 yards of purple Buckterum at 1/= per yard. 70 ells of Bolles at 8 ^d per yard, 30 Ells D ^{ha} , prell of Scotch cloth (3.10.0) 20 yards of White linen at 9 ^d per yard. 8 yards of Scotch Cloth and 6 ^d per yard, 6 yards D ^{tu}	16	13	4

at 11^d per yard, 30 yards of linen at 12^d per yard,
6 lb Whalebone at 5/= per pound, Counters and other
lumber in the shop £1. 1 Remnant of Cloth and a
remnant of searge 15/=.

4 19 8

For lumber in the cellar 10/=, 50 lb of pewter in the
Kitchen at d^d per lb, 30 lb of brasse at 9^d per pound,
one pair of Grates, Jack, frying pann and other things
belonging to the same £1, 2 spitts, one table, a spice
box and some other things.

4 2 6

Chamber - 1 pair of Stayres Hangings and window curtains
£1, Bedstead, curtens and Bedcloths £1, one feather bed
Boster and 2 pillows, 1 Rug and 1 pair of blankets £3,
one g^t fend iron fire shovell and tonges 10/=, one chest
of drawers and a looking glass £1.5.0, one small pallet
bed, rugs and other things belonging there £1.10.0.
Table and 6 chairs £1.3.0.

9 8 0

Deced wearing cloths and hatts £4, 10 pair of sheets
2.10.0, 3 dozen napkins, 4 table Cloths, 6 pillow beeres
and 1 dozen towells 1.10.0. 30 ounces of plate 7.10.0.
One watch 1.15.0.

Chamber - 2 pair of stayres Hangings of room, 1 screene
15/=, one pair of Andirons 4/=, one bedsted, matt cord
Curting roods toster and bed clothes 8/=, one pallet bed,
one bolster and Blancket, Rug, curtain and vallence,
and 2 pillows £1.10.0, 4 old chairs and one chest 4/=,
1 large bible and other books

3 6 0

Garret 2 bedsteeds with 2 flock beeds, rugs and other
lumber.

0 16 0

Money in the house.

204 0 0

Hopeful debts due.

129 0 7

CATHERINE CUNNINGHAM

Garret Bedsted, matt and cord, striped curtains and
valence feather bed boulder and pillow, rugg and coverlid
and blanketts a flock bed and boulder, a trundle bedstead,
sacking bottom, 3 chairs.

2 14 0

Back Garret Bedsted, matt and cord, striped curtains
and valence, 2 feater bed boulders, a rug and 2 blankets,
side table and chest, 2 old chairs, 2 ruggs, 2 cover ligs,
feather pillow, blanket, striped carpet, hoope, iron and
brasses, pair of tables and iron pan.

4 9 0

Side Garret Copper Pott and lead, brass kettle,
a _____, a table, a close stole and pan, a pillion
with other lumber.

1 19 0

One pair of stairs forward in the Chequor A bedstead,
matt and cord and rods tester, headcloth, 2 pillows and
feather bolster, mohair rug, 2 blankets, flock bolster,
straw bed, sad coloured printed stuff hangings,
Chimney peece, 2 pictures, window rod, looking glass,
6 turkey work chaires, table and turkey work capret,
Chest of drawers, Andirons Dogs with brasses, Brass shovell,
tongs and 2 Hooks and Calico bed window curtain. 5 2 0

In the Inner Room Bedsted Cord and strawbed, striped
curtains and valence, 2 flock beds, 2 balnkets, blue
rug, chest of drawers, a press, 2 swords, fowling piece,
looking glass, her wearing cloths. Camblet cloke. 11 1 0

Blue Room Sackcloth bottom bedsted, Blue Curtaines
and Valence, feather bed, 2 feather bolsters, 1 blanket,
coverlid, Calico Quilt, Chest of drawers, 2 Cane chairs
and a picheze. 4 2 0

Kings Head Press Bedstead and rod, feather bed and
2 feather bolsters, rugg, 2 blankets, searge Curtains,
tapestry hangings, 10 cane chairs, folding table and
turkey work carpet, picture over the chimney, 2 white
curtains and Rod. A Grate with brasses, fender, fire
shovels, tongs and poker, pair of Andirons and Bellows,
looking glass and Haire Trunk. 7 1 0

In the Crowne Folding table and Iron Barrs. 0 4 0

In the George 2 tables, 4 chairs, a foarine and sconce
piece of tapestry, a grate. 1 6 0

Kitchen Fire grate, with cheek and fender, fire shovell
fork and tongs, hanging irons, potthangers, 2 frying pans
Chaseing dish and Cleaver, a rack, 2 pitts, a Musket, a
pull up Jack and weight, 3 brass potts and covers, a
kettle, 4 sauce panns, Warming pan a looking glasse,
spice box, 4 chairs, a gridiron and Copper Pot. 2 19 0
Pewter weighing 178 lbs. 4 15 0

Linen - 11 pair of sheets, 2 Draper table cloths, 2
dozen draper napkins, 12 flaxen napkins, 12 towells,
11 pillowbeers, 5 dessert cloths, 4 smocks, 2 Holland
shirts. 4 5 0

Hoods, scarves and Heddresses. 3 0 0

Cup and spoon (8 ounces). 2 0 0

Old Watch. 0 12 0

55 9 0

Debts 65 0 0

120 9 0

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

(i) AIMS

1. Open University, English Urban History 1500-1780, Unit 13 p. 9; R.A. Butlin (ed), The Development of the Irish Town (London, 1977) p. 93; C.M. Cipolla, Before the Industrial Revolution (London, 1976) p. 281, Table A-1.
2. P. Clark (ed), The Early Modern Town (London, 1976) p. 1-42. Also H.J. Dyos, The Study of Urban History (London, 1968) Ch. 1.
3. F.W. Maitland, Township and Borough (Camb, 1898); J. Tait, Medieval Manchester and the Beginnings of Lancashire (Manchester, 1904); J. Mackay, The History of the Burgh of Canongate (Edin, 1899). A sample of more recent studies would include: F.J. Fisher, "The Development of London as a Centre of Conspicuous Consumption" T.R.H.S. 4th Ser. 30 (1948) p. 33-50; Fisher, "The Development of London Food Markets 1540-1640" Ec. H. R. 1st Ser. 5 (1935) p. 46-64; D.V. Glass, "socio-Economic Status and Occupation in London" in P. Hollaender and W. Kellawdy, Studies in London History (London, 1969) p. 373-392; W.G. Hoskins, Industry, Trade and People in Exeter 1688-1800 (Manchester, 1935); J.R. Kellet "The Breakdown of Guild and Corporation Control over the Handicraft and Retail Trade in London" Ec. H. R. 2nd Ser. 10 (1957-8) p. 381-394; J.D. Marwick, "Edinburgh Guilds and Crafts" S.B.R.S. (Edin, 1899); E.A. Wrigley, "A Simple Model of London's Importance" P. & P. 37 (1967) p. 44-70; J. Patten "Rural-urban migration in pre-industrial England" Oxford School of Geography, 1973; R. Finlay, "The Population of London 1580-1640" Camb. Ph.D. (1977).
4. C. Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City (Camb, 1979); D.M. Palliser, Tudor York (Oxford, 1979); D. George, London Life in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1930).
5. G.C.F. Forster, "York in the 17th Century" V.C.H. Yorkshire: The City of York (O.U.P., 1961) p. 160-206; A.D. Dyer, The City of Worcester (Leicester, 1973); W.T. MacCaffrey, Exeter 1540-1640 (Camb, Mass., 1958); J.T. Evans, Seventeenth Century Norwich (Oxford, 1979).
6. R. Butlin, "The Population of Dublin in the late seventeenth century" J.G. 5 (1965) p. 51-66 and The Development of the Irish Town; J.G. Simms, "Dublin in 1685" J.H.S. 14 (1964)

p. 212-226; M. Craig, Dublin 1660-1860 (London, 1952);
Moody, Martin and Byrne (eds), A New History of Ireland
(Oxford, 1976) III.

(ii) THE CAPITALS

7. C.S.P.D. 1686-87 P.63 S.P.63/351 f319-23, Wm. Petty's
Economic Statistics.
8. F. Brandel, Capitalism and Material Life (London, 1973)
p. 430.
9. J. Patten, English Towns 1500-1700 (Folkestone, 1978)
p. 182.
10. C.S.P.D. P.43 S.P. Dom Signet Letter Bk 12.
11. Thomas Morer, A Short Account of Scotland (1689) quoted
in P. Hume Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland (Edinburgh,
1891).
12. J.H. Andrews, "Land and People" in A New History of Ireland
p. 477 - "Even in population, Dublin ranked second among
the cities of the British Isles, and like London it
flourished as a seaport, industrial centre and seat of
national government."; Clark, The Early Modern Town p. 21 -
"As with London, Edinburgh's importance rested on a wide
range of commercial, industrial, political and cultural
functions."
13. Brandel, Capitalism and Material Life p. 41.
14. Thomas Dekker in Brandel, "Pre-Modern Towns" in Clark
The Early Modern Town, p. 83.
15. Population of Dublin : 1600 - 5,000; 1650 - 25,000-30,000;
1680 - 60,000, Butlin, Irish Town; L.M. Cullen, "Economic
Trends 1600-1691" in A New History of Ireland p. 390 -
"In this respect, Dublin reflected the growth of London . . .
The outstanding feature in urban development in the
seventeenth century was the emerging predominance of
Dublin."
16. The information came from a wide variety of sources :
William Petty, Economic Writings of W.P. together with
observations on the Bills of Mortality ed. C.H. Hull
(1963); G. King in The Earliest Classics (1973);
Wm. Morgan, A Computation of the Increase of London and
Parts Adjacent; Simms, "Dublin in 1685"; Petty, Five
Essays in Political Arithmetic in Further observation on
the Dublin Bills ed. C.H. Hull (1899) II 521; Butlin,
"Population in Dublin"; South, T.C.D. Ms 1i2f83;
M. Flinn et al., Scottish Population History (Camb., 1977).

17. V. Pearl, London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution (London, 1961) p. 69.
18. The constitution of London does not directly concern this study, but it can be discovered in several excellent works : Pearl, London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution, S. and B. Webb English Local Government (London, 1924) III.
19. Webbs, English Local Government; E.G. Dowdell, A Hundred Years of Quarter Sessions (Camb., 1932); E.A. Moir, The Justice of the Peace (Hammondsworth, 1969).
20. E. Machysaght, Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century (Cork, 1950).
21. Dublin City Library, The Monday Books I f 173.
22. See the printed records of the Privy Council (to 1689). Thereafter these is a transcript in the S.R.O.
23. Edinburgh 1329-1929 (Edinburgh, 1929); Mackay, The Burgh of the Canongate, p. 14-22.
24. Mackay, The Burgh of the Canongate.

(iii) THE PARISHES

25. A. MacFarlane, Reconstructing Historical Communities (Camb, 1977) p. 7.
26. P. Laslett and R. Wall, Household and Family in past time (Camb, 1972).
27. See Chapter 2, Section
28. The reality of burgh independence has been discussed briefly by S.G.E. Lythe, Studying Scottish Towns (1979) A. 322.
29. English visitors to the capital had quite a high opinion of the Canongate. See P.H. Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland (Edin, 1891).
30. Scottish Record Office CH2/122.
31. Canongate Kirk Session Minutes S.R.O. CH2/122/7-9.
Canongate Kirk Session Accounts S.R.O. CH2/122/32-35.
32. Burials, S.R.O. CH2/122/8 and 73.
Baptisms, S.R.O. Old Parish Records 685³/6, 7.
Marriages, S.R.O. O.P.R. 685³/13.

33. See Chapter 2, Section iii(a) Complete burial rolls would help in deciding how the population was changing in the 1690's.
34. Most economic records are kept in the archives of the Edinburgh City Council.
35. E.A. Webb, The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew's the Great, West Smithfield 2 vols. (London, 1921).
36. 6 Jas I Sept. 1608. This gave the city the powers of Justice of the Peace over the parish. These were later extended - Pearl, London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution, p. 23-33.
37. Webb, St. Bartholomew, II 392. Taken from a petition to the mayor and aldermen in 1825 (Vestry Minute Book iv 553-4).
38. Samuel Pepys "Went twice round Bartholomew Fair which I was glad to see again". R.C. Latham and W. Mathews (eds), Diary of Samuel Pepys (London, 1974) viii 405.
39. A large number of pamphlets were published attacking the behaviour at the Fair. Ostensibly published as an attack on ^{loose} morals, their pornographic nature must have increased sales. Bartholomew Faire, or Variety of Fancies where you may find a Faire of Wares and all to please your mind (1641); Reasons formerly published for the punctual limiting of Bartholomews Fair (1708 rep. 1711); The Wandering Whore - A Dialogue (1660); An Account of the last Bartholomews Fair and the late City Order for regulating the same (1702); Strange News From Bartholomews Fair (n.d.); Wards London Spy (1699). All in the Guildhall Library. Also Diary of Samuel Pepys, II 166 n 2.
40. Guildhall Library, Churchwarden Accounts Mss. 3989 Unit 1; Vestry Minutes Mss. 3990 Vol. 1.
41. The Session material that remains is in the Corporation of London Public Record Office.
42. Marriage Tax No. 99 (C.L.P.R.O.).
43. Webb, St. Bartholomews.
44. Due to the dearth of sources some reliance has been placed on the nineteenth century material. Much of this is from the Irish Builder which studied the fabric of the old city. The collection is now in the National Library of Ireland, Ms11, 622-642. (Walshe) Cutting and

- .. notes on Streets I.B. (1/1/1896) "For upward of two centuries St. Bride's Street was the centre of wealth and fashion"; I.B. (15/6/1896) " . . . and a century earlier [;696] they were the abodes of rank and fashion and the highest professional eminence".
45. N.L.I. MS. 11, 623 (Walshe) I.B. 1st October 1695.
46. Trinity College Dublin : Monck Mason, Extracts of the Parish Register, T.C.D. 2062-3; W.G. Carroll, Copies of Vestry Accounts 1663-1702, T.C.D. 1473.
47. J.T. Gilbert (ed), Calender of Ancient Records of Dublin 7 vols. (Dublin, 1895).

CHAPTER TWO

(i) THE FABRIC OF THE PARISH

1. J. Mackay, The History of the Burgh of Canongate with notices of the Abbey and Palace of Holywood (Edinburgh, 1879), p. 9. This also supports the view that fortification was not one of the distinguishing characteristics of a burgh.
2. N.P. Brooks and G. Whittington, "Planning and growth in the medieval Scottish burgh : the example of St. Andrews" T.I.B.G. N.S. (1977) 2 p. 278-295. A comparison with St. Andrews is very apt. As in that burgh, the main road in the Canongate was on an East - West axis running to an important ecclesiastical centre in the east.
3. D. Robertson, The Bailies of Leith (Leith, 1915). Mr. Robertson records that even in 1812, when a new church was built in the port, the Canongate Incorporations wanted the "same accommodation as in the old church" while the magistrates demanded the same facilities as they had "immemorably enjoyed".
4. Robertson, Leith, p. 52.
5. E.R.B.E. 1655-1665, p. 17.
6. "The Travels of Sir William Brereton" in P. Hume Brown, Early Travellers in Scotland (Edin, 1891) p. 139. Sir William was very impressed by the fact that there was a drainage ditch down both sides of the streets.
7. "Sir William Brereton", p. 139.
8. John Taylor (1681), 'the Water Poet' quoted in R. Selby Wright, The Kirk in the Canongate (Edin, 1956) p. 39.
9. T. Kirke, "A Modern Account of Scotland by an English Gentleman" in Brown, Early Travellers, p. 256.
10. Edinburgh 1329-1929 (Edin, 1929) p. 399.
11. James Gordon of Rothiemay (1647) 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ " X 41". See Map 1.
12. Thomas Morer, "A Short Account of Scotland" in Brown, Early Travellers, p. 279. Brown believes Morer to be the most reliable of the contemporaries.
13. M. Flinn et al. (eds), Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930's (Camb, 1977) p. 198, Table 3.8.6. S.R.O. Exchequer Records, 1690 Hearth Tax E69/16/3.

14. Edinburgh City Archives, McLeod Misc. Papers, Bundle 1668-1829, Canongate Annuity Roll 1687 - 1st Quarter ff 1.
15. Morer, "A Short Account", p. 279.
16. The Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments : Scotland, City of Edinburgh (Edinburgh, 1959) p. 129-183.
17. Morer, "A Short Account", p. 279.
18. E.R.B.E. 1689-1701, p. 208.
19. Edinburgh 1329-1929, p. 399.
20. E.R.B.E. 1681-1689, p. 91, 31st October 1683.
21. "Sir William Brereton", p. 140.
22. H.G. Graham, Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1901) p. 83.
23. E.R.B.E. 1681-1689, p. lii.
24. E.R.B.E. 1681-1689, p. 202-3, 30th March 1687.
25. S.R.O. CH2/122 - 122, Removal of Rubbish, 1693.
26. S.R.O. RH14/216.
27. Graham, Social Life, p. 84.
28. "Records of the Privy Council", xi p. 530-1 in W.C. Dickson and G. Donaldson, A Source Book of Scottish History (Edin, 1954) III.
29. E.R.B.E. 1681-1689, p. 168, 19th February 1686.
30. S.R.O. CH2/122 - 123
13th December 1691, £3.6.8; 27th November 1695, £40.0.0;
13th December 1695, £40.0.0; 22nd April 1696, £40.0.0.
31. E.C.A. McLeod Misc. Papers, Bundle - Extracts from Magistrates 1593-1710, 18th November 1669.

(ii) ECONOMICS

A) TRADES AND INCORPORATIONS

32. Several different types of burgh existed : Royal; Regality; Barony. Royal burghs were the most prestigious and only merchants from this group were allowed to trade overseas. Royal burghs also had representation at national level through Parliament and their own body - the Convention of Royal Burghs.

33. E.R.B.E. 1681-1689, p. 166-7.
34. E.C.A. Burgh of Canongate Misc. Records, Incorporation of Hammermen Sederunt Book 1613-1687, February 1686.
35. For brief histories of the Trades see : C.A. Malcolm, "The Incorporation of Cordiners of the Canongate 1538-1773" B.O.E.C. 18 (1932) p. 100-150; W.H. Marwick, "The Incorporation of Tailors of the Canongate" B.O.E.C. 22 (1938) p. 91-131; M. Wood, "The Hammermen of the Canongate" B.O.E.C. 19 & 20 (1933 & 1935) p. 1-30 & 78-110. The Articles of Incorporation are given in M. Wood, "The Book of Records of the Ancient Privileges of the Canongate" S.R.S. 85 (1956).
36. A.I. Cameron, "The Canongate Crafts : An Agreement of 1610" B.O.E.C. 14 (1925) p. 26.
37. Wood, "Hammermen", 20, p. 97.
38. Cameron, "Canongate Crafts", p. 25-44. The article deals with the background to this body and provides a transcript of the agreement. See also Chapter Four.
39. Wood, "Ancient Privileges", p. 27, No. 61.
40. Wood, "Ancient Privileges", p. 25, No. 47.
41. E.C.A. Burgh of Canongate Misc. Papers, Incorporation of Weavers Sederunt Book 1610-1713, 23rd August 1690.
42. "Fountainhills Historical Notices", Bannatyne Club (1848), II 293, 2nd June 1681. The building concerned was Queensbury House which still stands in the burgh. In fact the craftsmen had no case as the property had been granted in 'free regality' and thus was outside the jurisdiction of the burgh. See Royal Commission on Ancient Monuments, p. 160.
43. E.C.A. Burgh of Canongate Misc. Papers, Incorporation of Wrights and Coupers Sederunt Book I 1630-1690, 14th December 1695. James Findlayson was in financial trouble and was lent 200 merkes with his house as security. It was also decided to use his house as a Convening House.
44. S.R.O. CH2/122 - 9, Kirk Session Minutes (10th and 29th September 1691).
45. E.C.A. Weavers, 3rd August 1694. Discussion took place over the appointment of a second minister. They are willing to join with the kirk session and heritors in calling Mr. William Hamilton at present with the Earl of Dundonald.

46. W. Makey, The Church of the Covenants 1637-1651 (Edin, 1979) p. 150-151.
47. E.C.A. Baxters Sederunt Book 1537-1819, 8th November 1695. A meeting was held to discuss the debts. It was decided to be "frugall" and do away with entrant dinners, instead new freemen will pay £20.
48. E.C.A. Weavers, 9th June 1690. The members were to pay the boxmaster 20 merkes each so that the Trade Officer can be paid.
49. E.C.A. Coupers, 2nd April 1696. Invest £100 Sterling in the "African Stocks and Traders . . . as the other trades have done". S.R.O. G.D. 1/14 - 1, Cordiners, 14th April 1696. "By a plurality of votes . . . give a bond of £100 sterling to the company of Scotland".
50. Wood, "Hammermen", 19.
51. One case involving the Weavers went on for several years:- January 1686, borrow money; 16th February 1689, borrow another 100 merkes; 23rd October, protest to Edinburgh weavers; 13th April 1690, Act. of Horning against the Deacon; 19th January 1691, A Committee to study Articles of Agreement. E.C.A. Weavers.
52. E.R.B.E. 1681-1689, p. xxxiii.
53. E.C.A. Baxters, 27th July 1696.
54. E.R.B.E. 1689-1701, p. 180, 16th August 1695.
55. Mackay, Canongate, p. 93. The power and influence of the Incorporations is dealt with more fully in Chapter Four.

B) OCCUPATIONS

56. Makey, Church of the Covenants, p. 152.
57. S.R.O. Poll Tax, William Nisbet of Dirletoun.
58. Examples can be found in H. Armet, "The Register of the Burgesses of the Burgh of the Canongate" S.R.S. 83 (1951). "Mr. Alex Erskine, servant to the Earl of Linlithgow, gratis", 19th May 1693.
59. An index system was kept of everyone discovered in the records, and where possible of their occupation.
60. In all burghs there was a conflict between the merchants and crafts as to whom would control burgh affairs. In

the Canongate this came to a head in the first two decades of the seventeenth century. The four Incorporated crafts had their deacons on the Council but they were continually outvoted by the nine maltmen also present. The Crafts appealed to the Privy Council which found in their favour. See Chapter Four for full details.

61. S.R.O. CH2/122 - 33, Kirk Session Accounts.
62. For a history of brewing in Scotland see I. Donnachie, A History of the Scottish Brewing Industry (Edin, 1980).
63. H. Armet, "The Register of the Burgesses".
64. See page 33.
65. P. Laslett and R. Walls, Household and Family in Past Times (London, 1974) p. 152, Table 4.13.C.
Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City (Camb, 1979) p. 221, Table 21.
66. S.R.O. E70/4/9. 1694 Poll Tax. Lady Elizabeth Kenaiydie (Earl's sister), 4 servants; William Nisbet of Dirletoun, 11 servants; Lawrence Ord (merchant), 8 servants; Earl of Forfar, 8 servants.
67. P. Laslett, The World We Have Lost (London, 1965) p. 16. "Service was practically a universal characteristic of the pre-industrial society". P. Laslett, Family Life and Illicit Love in earlier generations (Camb, 1977) Ch. 2. It is suggested that 10% of the population were servants at one time or another.
68. Helen Stewart was a servant to Mrs. Gibb on 1st September 1687 and a servant to William Bothwick on 6th December 1688. Margaret Brown was a servant to Deacon Kinloch and later to John Forbus.
69. Dr. Buchanan (1647-52) in P. Hume Brown, Scotland before 1700 (Edin, 1891) p. 319.

C). WEALTH

70. For a brief introduction to testaments and their use, see F.J. Shaw, The Northern and Western Islands of Scotland (Edin, 1980) p. 7-8, 9-12.
71. K.E. Wrightson and D. Levine, Poverty and Piety in an English Village : Terling 1525-1700 (New York, 1979) p. 35.
72. See Figure 1.

73. Flinn, Scottish Population History, p. 198.
74. M. Power, "The Urban Development of East London", London Ph.D. (1974). St. Katherine's by the Tower, 2.3; Shadwell, 2.7; Mile End, 4.3; Ratcliffe, 2.9.
75. S.R.O. CH2/122 - 8. Session Minutes, 21st February 1689. "Compeired Alex Seaton, servitour to Arthur Henderson . . . he saw the said Helen go up the stairs to the said . . . house".
76. This is in contrast to the view expressed by Margaret Spufford that " . . . in general an incontestable association exists between wealth and house size", quoted in Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety, p. 35.
77. E.C.A. McLeod Misc. Papers, Bundle 1668-1829, Annuity Roll.
78. Graham, Social Life. Mr. Graham suggests that cellars and garrets in Edinburgh were rented at £12 p.a. while the "best chambers" cost £300 p.a. (p. 85). Slightly higher than Canongate prices, they are also for a slightly later period. Overall there was probably little difference between the two burghs.
79. Graham, Social Life, p. 88. Recounts a story about a Scottish gentleman going to London and reserving rooms on the top floor of a building only to discover that in the capital the genteel lived towards the bottom. At which he stated that "he had lived a' his life in a sixth story . . . ", From Tophams "Letters", p. 11.
80. E.C.A. Annuity Tax (1687) ff 4. In the Hearth Tax it is common for the same name to appear two, or even three, times in different 'lands'. It is not possible to discover whether or not this was the same person renting several properties or different people with the same name.
81. Flinn, Scottish Population History, p. 51-58.
82. See Appendix A for transcripts of the five inventories.
83. S.R.O. CC8/8/78. John Livingstone, 15th August 1687.
84. S.R.O. CC8/8/78. James Cochrane, 19th December 1685.
85. See Appendix A.
86. E.C.A. Annuity Tax (1687) ff 7 and Appendix A.

D) WAGES AND PRICES

87. See for example, E.H. Phelps-Brown and S.V. Hopkins,

"Seven Centuries of the prices of consumables compared with builders wage-rates" in Carus and Wilson, Essays in Economic History (London, 1962) II.

88. S.R.O. Various documents : CH2/122 - 108, 111, 115, 116, 119, 120 and 127.
89. S.R.O. CH2/122 - 108. October 1693 (Wrights).
90. S.R.O. CH2/122 - 108.
91. R. Chambers, Domestic Annals of Scotland, 2 vols. (Edin, 1858).
92. S.R.O. CH2/122 - 140.
93. R. Mitchison, "Movements in Scottish Corn Prices" Ec. H. R. 2nd Ser. 18 (1965) p. 278-291.
94. Flinn, Scottish Population History, p. 489-498.

(iii) DEMOGRAPHY

A) POPULATION SIZE

95. P. Laslett and J. Harrison, "Clayworth and Cogenhoe" in H.E. Bell and R. L. Ollard, Historical Essays 1600-1750, Presented to David Ogg (London, 1973); E.A. Wrigley, "Family Limitation in Pre-Industrial England" Ec. H. R. 2nd Ser. 19 (1966) p. 82-109; Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City.
96. E.A. Wrigley, "Mortality in Pre-Industrial England" in D.V. Glass and R. Revelle, Population and Social Change (London, 1972); Arnots, History of Edinburgh in T.H. Hollingsworth, Historical Demography (London, 1969) Ch. 5.
97. Flinn, Scottish Population History, p. 111. See p. 43-115 for an excellent survey of the various records available in Scotland. The majority of Registers for the Canongate are in the General Register Office for Scotland - O.P.R. 685³ - 6, 7, 13, 20 and fragments of burials are in S.R.O. CH2/122 - 73.
98. C.K.S.M. 19th September 1689, 31st October 1689 and 27th February 1690.
99. "... recent researchers have experienced grave difficulty in finding even a single closed parish suitable for family reconstruction". B. Lenman in C. Wilson and G. Parker (eds), An Introduction to European Economic History, 1500-1800 (London, 1977) p. 143.

100. C.K.S.M. 29th November 1688.
101. Flinn, Scottish Population History, p. 51-57.
102. J. Graunt and G. King, Pioneers of Demography : The Earliest Classics (Farnborough, 1973), passim; D.V. Glass, "Two Papers on Gregory King" in D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley, Population in History (London, 1965).
103. Bills of Mortality were kept in many European cities. They consisted of weekly and/or monthly totals of burials and baptisms. Started in London c. 1529 and grew in quality during the seventeenth century. They are ostensibly complete and also record the causes of death.
104. Graunt and King, The Earliest Classics, p. 44.
105. P.E. Jones and A.V. Judges, "London Population in the late seventeenth century" Ec. H. R. 1st Ser. 6 (1935) p. 45-61.
106. J.T. Krause, "The Changing Adequacy of English Registration, 1690-1837" in Glass and Eversley, Population in History, p. 383.
107. See Chapter One.
108. Laslett and Walls, Household and Family, p. 129-133 for details of various ways of calculating M.H.S. The one used in this study is number 4, recommended as the most useful.
109. The list includes papists. Flinn, Scottish Population History, p. 65, suggests that the age of exemption may have been as low as seven.
110. In the 1684 list the 2nd Quarter could be a mistake as the residents do not conform with other lists of the quarter. It is possible that the 6th Quarter is meant.
111. Laslett and Walls, Household and Family, p. 133 and passim.
112. C.K.S.M. 21st February 1693.
113. C.K.S.M. 14th March 1693.
114. Open University D 301 Historical Data and the Social Sciences; Unit 6, Population and Society, passim.

B) IMMIGRATION

115. This is supported by Mackay, The Burgh of Canongate, p. 14-15.

116. P. Clark, "The Migrant in Kentish Towns" in P. Clark and P. Slack, Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700 (London, 1972).
117. Poor Relief is dealt with more fully in Chapter Three. For nineteenth and twentieth century opinions of the Scottish poor system read E.M. Leonard, The Early History of the English Poor Law (London, 1965) p. 289; G. Nicholls, A History of the Scotch Poor Law (London, 1856); and H.G. Graham, Social Life, Chapter 7.
118. R. Mitchison, "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law" P. & P. 63 (1974) p. 58-93; R. Mitchison, Life in Scotland (London, 1978).
119. R.A. Cage, "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law" P. & P. 65 (1975) p. 113-118 and a rejoinder by R. Mitchison, p. 119-121.
120. For a brief survey of the various sources that can be employed see E.J. Buckatzsch, "Constancy of Local Populations and Migration in England before 1800" Population Studies 5 (1952) p. 62-69. S.R.O. Kirk Session Accounts CH2/122 - 32 1674-88 (Episcopalian); 122 - 33, 1687-92 (Presbyterian); 122 - 34, 1689-90 (Episcopalian); 122 - 35, 1692-93 (Presbyterian). Guild records are all E.C.A. except for Cordiners (S.R.O. GD1/14 - 1).
121. The figures are derived by subtracting the total population by the Hearth Tax (therefore not including paupers) from the various estimates based on the Baptism registers. Slack, "Poverty and Piety in Salisbury 1597-1666" in Clark and Slack, Crisis and Order, suggests that those who received relief were 5% of the population which would give a total of 225.
122. The Incorporations with surviving records are Wrights, Baxters, Weavers, Hammermen, and Cordiners.
123. " . . . non of the respective trades of the Incorporations within this Cittie or privaledges therof Take any prentices or admit jurriemen To ther services Bot such as will willingly subscribe the obligation obleidgeing them that they shall have no maner of accession to the raiseing of any tumults or be active therein . . . ". E.R.B.E. 1681-1689 p. 168. 17th February 1686.
124. Armet, "Canongate Burgesses".

C) HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

125. S.R.O. CH2/122 - 68.

126. E.F. Catford, Edinburgh : The story of a city (London, 1975). "Yet noblemen and their families, judges of the High Court, college professors, lawyers . . . lived their lives and brought up their families in the higgledy-piggledy community which went far beyond the dreams of present day town planners seeking to achieve a 'social mix' in the community they plan." p. 25.
127. O.U. A322 English Urban History 1500-1780, Unit 11 p. 85 " . . . resident urban poor . . . included more children, complete families and widows".
128. Laslett, Family Life, Ch. 2, suggests that 40% of the population were children; Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City, p. 222; Laslett and Wall, Household and Family, p. 144 and 152, Tables 4.10 and 4.13.
129. Wood, "Hammermen" 19 p. 5; O.U. A322, Unit 5 Economic and Social Structure, p. 24 and 26.
130. S.R.O. E70/4/9 ff 31, Canongate Poll Tax (1694).
131. Laslett and Wall, Household and Family, p. 135-137 (inc. Table 4.3); Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City, p. 246, Table 32.
132. Laslett and Wall, Household and Family, p. 147, Table 4.9; Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City, p. 202, Table 14.
133. An interesting example of this can be found in J.A. Fairley, Agnes Campbell, Lady Roseburn relict of Andrew Anderson, The King's Printer (Aberdeen, 1925).
134. See O.U. D301 Unit 5, p. 32.
135. Laslett and Wall, Household and Family, p. 146.
136. Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City, p. 200, Table 13.

D) AN URBAN CRISIS?

137. Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City, p. 200, Table 13.
138. Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City, Ch. 18.
139. S.R.O. Baptisms O.P.R. 685³ - 6.
140. Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety, p. 65.
141. Flinn, Scottish Population History, "In general the years after 1682 seem to have been healthier than the 1670's . . ." p. 156; "Over most of Scotland, the 1690's began with five years of comparatively abundant grain" p. 164.

142. D. Daiches, Edinburgh (London, 1978).
143. In 1707 even the Scottish Parliament was abolished under the Act of Union. Allan Ramsay believed that the Canongate was "the greatest sufferer by the loss of our members of Parliament which London now enjoys" quoted in Wright, The Kirk in the Canongate, p. 124.
144. Allan Ramsay "Elegy on Lucky Wood" in Poems (1877) I 169, depicts the desolation of the Canongate in 1717. Quoted in Graham, Social Life, p. 82 n 2.
145. Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City, p. 220.
146. E.R.B.E. 1681-1689, p. 223. 4th November 1687, p. 220 23rd November 1688.
147. E.R.B.E. 1689-1701, p. 37 4th July 1690, p. 96 8th July 1692, p. 154 27th July 1694, p. 181 11th September 1695, and p. 207 6th November 1696.
148. E.R.B.E. 1689-1701, p. 126-7.
149. E.R.B.E. 1689-1701, p. 7 22nd May 1689.
150. Prof. Lythe, Studying Scottish Towns (O.U., 1979) p. 19.
- 151 J.G. Kyd, "Scottish Population Statistics" S.H.S. 3rd Ser. 43 (1952) p. 14.
152. E.A. Wrigley, "A Simple Model of London's Importance" P. & P. 37 (1967) p. 44-70.

CHAPTER THREE

INTRODUCTION

1. R. Selby Wright, The Kirk in the Canongate (Edin, 1956) p. 19. This was John Craig. He had a very suitable pedigree for the job including being sentenced to be burnt for heresy.
2. R. Mitchison, Life in Scotland (London, 1978) p. 32.
3. Scottish Record Office CH2/122 - 9. Minutes of the Canongate Kirk Session, 12th December 1689.
4. Wright, The Kirk in the Canongate, p. 80-81.
5. Wright, The Kirk in the Canongate, p. 37.
6. A.A. Maclaren, Religion and Social Class (London, 1974). This shows a similar situation for Aberdeen in the nineteenth century. Session membership was a badge of respectability.

(i) COMPOSITION AND MEMBERSHIP

7. J. Mackay, History of the Burgh of Canongate (Edin, 1879) p. 61.
8. W. Makey, The Church of the Covenants, 1635-1651 : Revolution and Social Change in Scotland (Edin, 1979) p. 150.
9. It is possible to check the relationship by a Chi-Square Test.

(a) That those who held trade posts became elders	0.226
(b) That Deacons of Trade became elders	0.0238
(c) as (b) with only Coupars, Baxters, Hammermen and Weavers included	0.127.

The nearer to 1.0 that the answer is situated, the greater the strength of the relationship. There is a connection but it appears weak. This is due to the short time span involved. It is probable that trade officials served on the session outside the years 1685-1695, thus strengthening the relationship.

10. Makey, The Church of the Covenants, p. 151.
11. A similar comparison can be achieved by using the Hearth Tax.
12. John Know, The First Book of Discipline, introd. J.K. Cameron (Edin, 1972) "Touching the Election of Elders and Deacons".

13. Scottish Record Office CH2/122 - 7, Minutes of the Canon-gate Kirk Session, 31st March 1687.
14. CH2/122 - 8, C.K.S.M. 5th July 1688.
15. Makey, The Church of the Covenants, p. 124. "There is some corroborating evidence that this elaborate system, with its strident insistence on the rights, not only for the congregation but of its poorest members actually operated in Edinburgh".
16. C.K.S.M. 5th October 1691.
17. Makey, The Church of the Covenants, p. 128.
18. S.R.O. Entertainments 1658-1772 CH2/122 - 80.
19. C.K.S.M. June 1686 and 16th September 1686.
20. C.K.S.M. 2nd September 1693.
21. A. Ross, "Reformation and Depression" in D. McRoberts (ed), Essays on the Scottish Reformation 1513-1625 (Glasgow, 1962).
22. G. Donaldson, "The Church Courts" in Introduction to Scottish Legal History Stair Society 20 (Edin, 1958).
23. John Know, History of the Reformation in Scotland ed. W.C. Dickinson (London, 1949) II, 266.
24. C.K.S.M. 30th September 1687.
25. John Calvin, Institutes of Christian Religion iv.1.4 as quoted in A.C. Dickens, Reformation and Society in Sixteenth Century Europe (London, 1966) p. 160.
26. Knox, The First Book of Discipline ed. Cameron, p. 173.
27. Knox, The First Book of Discipline ed. Cameron, p. 165.
28. Makey, The Church of the Covenants, p. 11. "The English Justices were the antennae of the monarchy; James seems to have seen the Scottish elder in the same role".
29. This was a continuation of the practice of the Roman Catholic Church. Even many of the forms of penance had medieval precedents. It is strange that the Reformers should retain this part of the old order while keen to destroy so much else.
30. C.K.S.M. 13th October 1687 and 14th February 1689.
31. Fornication was often absolved in private, especially if the guilty party was of some local importance.

- "Compeired Duncan Yeats, guilty of fornication with Janet Smyth and made profession of his hearty grief and sorrow for the same and was privately absolved". C.K.S.M. 31st January 1689.
32. John Knox, The First Book of Discipline ed. Cameron, p. 170.
 33. H.M.S.O. Acts of Parliament of Scotland 1424-1707 (1966).
 34. C.K.S.M. 2nd August 1688.
 35. C.K.S.M. 16th August 1692. The unification of authority was a widespread feature in Scotland, commented on by contemporaries - " . . . in these meetings the Provost or some other Civil magistrate was present to give them Countenance, inforce their Acts and awe away offenders, which as it took off much of the Odium the Church otherwise had, so it made their censures even more terrible upon instances of scandal".
T. Morer, "A Short Account of Scotland" in W.R. Foster Bishop and Presbytery (London, 1958).
 36. Edinburgh City Archives, The Minutes of the Incorporation of Weavers 3rd August 1694.
 37. Wright, The Kirk in the Canongate, p. 36.
 38. Edinburgh City Archives, 'Acts of the Balies of the Canon-gate' 4, 13th May 1695.
 39. C.K.S.M. 7th October 1686.
C.K.S.M. 16th August and 27th September 1688.
See also W.R. Forster, The Church before the Covenants (Edin, 1975) Ch. 5.
 40. C.K.S.M. 28th March 1693.
 41. C.K.S.M. 26th October 1691.
 42. C.K.S.M. 18th July 1689.
 43. C.K.S.M. 17th November 1691.
 44. C.K.S.M. 17th January 1693.
 45. C.K.S.M. 11th July 1689.
- (ii) CRIMES AND PUNISHMENTS
46. John Knox, The First Book of Discipline ed. Cameron, p. 165-167. Professor Cameron also lists the biblical justifications for punishing the offenders.

47. K.E. Wrightson, "Two Concepts of Order" in J. Brewer and J. Styles (eds), An Ungovernable People (London, 1980) p. 21-46.
48. C.K.S.M. 28th November 1689.
49. C.K.S.M. 23rd August 1688.
50. Wrightson, "Two Concepts of Order".
51. C.K.S.M. 31st May 1688.
52. C.K.S.M. 17th October 1689.
53. C.K.S.M. 26th August 1686.
54. C.K.S.M. 27th June 1689.
55. C.K.S.M. 8th November 1692. Another example was "Barbara Hardie to bring her child to be baptised next Lords Day with an honest man to be sponser for the child" C.K.S.M. 20th June 1693.
56. C.K.S.M. 21st October 1686, 21st October 1686, 10th March 1687 and 11th August 1687.
57. Isobel Lawson (fornacatrix) entered repentence on 18th September 1687, did penance on the 25th September and was absolved on 2nd October.
58. C.K.S.M. 24th March 1687 "Dilated by vistors that people were drinking at William Herriots in time of divine service. Elder is to rebuke him it being his first fault".
59. C.K.S.M. 12th April 1688.
60. C.K.S.M. 10th February 1687.
61. See as examples John Sinclair, 7th October 1686 and Margaret Henderson 16th December 1687.
62. C.K.S.M. 28th February 1693.
63. C.K.S.M. 26th April and 19th July 1688.
64. H.G. Graham, Social Life in Scotland in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1901) p. 489. " . . . the same inquistional system and rigorous discipline existed under both eccesiastical reigns".
See also R.D. Brackenridge "The Enforcement of Sunday Observance in Post-Revolution Scotland" S.C.H.S.R. 17 (1969-71) p. 33-45. He lists several historians including William Lecky and Henry Buckle. The author

is particularly scathing about H.G. Graham.

(iii) THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE KIRK SESSION

65. John Knox, The First Book of Discipline ed. Cameron, p. 173.
66. C.K.S.M. 19th December 1689.
67. C.K.S.M. 14th February 1693.
68. C.K.S.M. 30th January 1690.
69. C.K.S.M. 11th July 1689.
70. Burnett, History of the Reformation, III xix, quoted in C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London, 1964) Ch. 7.
71. C.K.S.M. 19th December 1689.
72. C.K.S.M. 5th May 1687.
73. C.K.S.M. 18th March 1690.
74. C.K.S.M. 13th February 1690.
75. R. Mitchison, Life in Scotland (London, 1978) p. 30.
"In the seventeenth century it was the penance rather than the fine that hurt. It did not reduce fornication, but it explains the number of cases of infanticide and abandonment of children".
76. C.K.S.M. 20th October 1687.
77. Graham, Social Life, p. 323; also ales Arnot, History of Edinburgh, p. 193.
78. G. Donaldson, Scotland : Church and Nation through sixteen centuries (London, 1960) p. 66.

(iv) POOR RELIEF

A) HISTORY

79. R. Mitchison, "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law" P. & P. 63 (1974) p. 58-93.
80. E.M. Leonard, The Early History of the English Poor Law (London, 1965) p. 289.
81. Mitchison, "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law"
" Life in Scotland.

Sir G. Nicholls, A History of the English Poor Law, 2nd Ed. (1854, rep. New York, 1967); Sir G. Nicholls, A History of the Scotch Poor Law, 2nd Ed. (1856, rep. New York, 1968).

82. In 1661 CII Cap 42 Jun 12 No 275 attempted to establish the poor in the cloth industry. It was recommended that every parish employ someone to teach the necessary skills. Experts were also to be attracted from abroad. While the idea was sound, the wrong industry was selected. The cloth industry was already in depression through lack of demand. Thus the new work-houses could not be profitable and only succeeded in forcing the established labour force out of work through the rising supply leading to a further fall in prices.
83. Mitchison, "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law", p. 69.
84. Sir. G. Nicholls says of the Scottish Laws "They were chiefly directed against vagrancy, the relief of the necessary poor being an incidental rather than a primary object; and in this consists the difference between them and the laws of England." Scotch Poor Law, p. 63.
85. J. McK. McPherson, The Kirk's Care of the Poor : with Special Reference to the North-east of Scotland (Aberdeen, 1941) p. 27-108.

B) MOTIVES OF THE SESSION

86. See below, Chapter 7.
87. Mitchison, Life in Scotland, p. 46.
88. C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London, 1964); C. Hill, "Puritans and the Poor" P. & P. 2 (1952) p. 32-50.
89. William Perkins, A Treatise of the Vocation or Calling of Men, quoted in C. Hill, "Puritans and the Poor".
90. John Knox, The First Book of Discipline ed. Cameron, p. 112-113.
91. This was recognised in the Canongate as early as 1564 : "Ye Deikans tae uptake ye puris silver, quhilk is given voluntaryie be faythfull men.", quoted in Wright, The Kirk in the Canongate.
92. A list of the Acts can be found in : Nicholls, Scotch Poor Law, and H.M.S.O. Acts of Parliament. "Sorner" is Scots for 'sturdy beggar'.
93. Knox, The First Book of Discipline ed. Cameron, p. 112.

94. See n. 63.
95. A.A. Cormack, Poor Relief in Scotland : An outline of the Growth and Administration of the Poor Laws in Scotland from the Middle Ages to the Present Day (Aberdeen, 1923) p. 45. This and McPherson are the best (if not the only) surveys of what the sessions actually attempted, not what the legislation suggested they do.
96. Poor relief even became a factor in the conflict between episcopalian and presbyterian sessions. The poor realised that they could play one side off against the other and collect relief from both. The episcopalian session soon realised what was happening but decided to continue paying relief. One of the reasons would have been a fear that cessation would have lost the session support and been interpreted as an abdication of responsibility. C.K.S.M. 19th and 26th September 1689.

C) WHO WAS ASSISTED?

97. Mitchison, "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law".
98. C.K.S.M. 4th March 1686 and 23rd May 1689.
99. S.R.O. CH8/8/79, Testaments.
100. C.K.S.M. 10th March 1687.
101. S.R.O. CH2/122 - 33, Canongate Kirk Session Accounts 27th June 1690.
102. Mitchison, "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law", p. 64. The author suggests that parish records were so bad that it was impossible for many vagrants to prove where they were born and thus claim relief.
103. C.K.S.A. 26th November 1689.
104. C.K.S.M. 17th February 1687.
105. McPherson, The Kirk's Care of the Poor, p. 110.
106. C.K.S.M. 16th May 1689 and 3rd June 1690.
107. C.K.S.M. 23rd May 1689.
108. S.R.O. CH2/122 - 76, Collections.
109. C.K.S.M. 30th January 1690.
110. C.K.S.M. 1st February 1690.
111. C.K.S.M. 7th January and 8th July 1686. "Thomas Creightons

relicts house meall"
 "Hugh Garroch, his house meal".

112. C.K.S.M. 9th August 1692.

D) POOR RELIEF RESOURCES

113. Leonard, The Early History of the English Poor Law, p. 286-7.

114. 1579 Jas VI cap 74 October 26 No. 12.
 1663 C II cap 16 September 25 No. 52.
 1692
 in Nicholls, Scotch Poor Law.

115. C.K.S.M. 8th September 1687.

116. Extracts of the Records of the Burgh of Edinburgh 1689-1701,
 p. 106, 25th November 1692.

117. C.K.S.M. 5th April 1692.

118. C.K.S.M. 18th October 1691.

119. C.K.S.M. 29th September 1692.

120. C.K.S.M. 6th January 1691.

121. C.K.S.A.

122. The best description of the variety is contained in
 McPherson.

123. C.K.S.M. 22nd May 1686.

124. C.K.S.M. 14th August 1687. "Rix" is a ryk dollar. Dutch
 and other foreign coins were freely used in Scotland before
 1707.

125. E.R.B.E. 1689-1701, p. 66 and 87.

126. C.K.S.A.

127. C.K.S.M. 5th May 1687.

128. C.K.S.A. 1689-1690.

129. C.K.S.M. 7th June 1688.

130. C.K.S.A.

131. C.K.S.A. 12th January 1688.

132. McPherson, The Kirk's Care of the Poor.

133. Mitchison, Life in Scotland, p. 49. "The 'system' worked when there was a real sense of solidarity between different groups in the community, constant pressure from the minister and a situation that had not yet got out of hand."

E) THE EFFECTIVENESS OF POOR RELIEF

134. C.K.S.M. 9th August 1692.
135. Orders for the collection of lists can be found in the C.K.S.M. on 14th March 1693 and 19th September 1689.
136. P. Clark and P. Slack, English Towns in Transition 1500-1700 (London, 1976) p. 121-123; P. Slack, "Poverty and Politics in Salisbury 1597-1666" in P. Clark and P. Slack (eds), Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700 (London, 1972) p. 166 and 177.
137. S.R.O. E69/16/3 Hearth Tax. See Chapter Two. A note on the roll claims that there were forty-eight exempt houses. With a M.H.S. of 4.39 this would be an extra 211 souls. However, it is likely that many of the exempted houses would have had a smaller M.H.S.
138. The total was probably less. Reasons for payment were not always recorded and some recipients of money may have been paid for other reasons. Due to the standard form of some of the entries there may also be some double-counting.
139. The number of non-regular recipients of relief obviously varied from week to week. Some examples are recorded below:
 14th November 1689 - Weekly Poor + 3
 21st November 1689 - Weekly Poor + 11
 28th November 1689 - Weekly Poor + 4
 5th December 1689 - Weekly Poor + Monthly Poor + 15
 15th December 1689 - Weekly Poor + 5.
140. S.R.O. CH2/122 - 74 Charity.
141. Mitchison, "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law", p. 71.
142. S.R.O. RH14/388, 11th August 1692.
143. Nicholls, Scotch Poor Law : 1661 C II cap 42 June 12 No. 275, 1663 C II cap 16 September 25 No. 52 and 1672 C II cap 16 September 4 No. 42.
144. C.K.S.M. 11th August 1688, " . . . nine dollars to be given to Mrs. Coll to help her son to a trade."
145. E.R.B.E. 1689-1701 passim, also S.R.O. RH14/213, 388, 422 and 446.
146. Thomas Cartwright quoted in A.F. Scott Pearson, Church and State-Political Aspects of 16th Century Puritans (Camb, 1928).

CHAPTER FOUR

(i) THE BURGH

1. The early history and development of burghs can be traced in : W.M. McKenzie, The Scottish Burghs (Edin, 1949); G. Pryde, "The Court Book of the Burgh of Kirkintilloch" S.H.S. 3rd Ser. 53 (1963); S.G.E. Lythe, Studying Scottish Towns (Open University, 1979).
2. This privilege was not totally monopolised by the royal burghs. Some of the more important or ancient burghs of barony were also represented in Parliament - St. Andrews for example (though it was promoted to royal status in 1620).
3.
 - (i) No outside area of monopoly.
 - (ii) Government at the discretion of the superior.
 - (iii) No property such as the 'Common Good'.
 - (iv) No role in import/export trade.
 - (v) No inherent claim to Parliamentary representation.
 - (vi) Not directly liable to cess but included in the 'shires' taxation.

See McKenzie, The Scottish Burghs, Ch. 5.
4. J. Mackay, History of the Burgh of Canongate with notices of the Abbey and Palace of Holyrood (Edin, 1876) p. 2.
5. The history of the superiority can be traced from several sources : Mackay, History of the Burgh of Canongate; M. Wood, "Book of Records of the Ancient Privileges of the Canongate" S.R.S. 85 (1956).
 Mr. Mackay seems to have over-estimated the power of the Canongate. He suggested that the burgh successfully resisted attempts by superiors to select the magistrates (p. 20 and 22). However, other sources suggest that this was not the case. Dr. Wood claims that for 1625 it was recognised that the superior (Sir William Bellenden) could appoint the bailies. It is possible that he did not exercise his right.
 " . . . such local government as they [Canongate] possessed was provided by the Town Council, who appointed Baron Bailies which was continued in certain areas to . . . 1856" Edinburgh 1329-1929 (Edin, 1929) p. 211. This work suggests that the Council allowed the community to choose the resident bailies.
6. Mackenzie, The Scottish Burghs, p. 20.
7. C.A. Malcolm, "The Incorporation of Cordiners of the Canongate 1538-1773" in B.O.E.C. 18 (1932) p. 113.
8. Mackenzie, The Scottish Burghs, p. 121.

9. C.A. Malcolm, "The Incorporation of Cordiners", p. 118.
10. E.R.B.E. 1642-1655 p. 231.
11. E.R.B.E. 1626-1641 p. 243 (7th October 1640).
12. E.R.B.E. 1642-1655 p. 279.
13. E.R.B.E. 1642-1655 p. 280-1; Malcolm, "The Incorporation of Cordiners".
14. The annual election of magistrates is recorded in E.R.B.E.
15. W. Makey, The Church of the Covenants 1637-1651 (Edin, 1979) p. 150.
16. The development of the burgh has not been adequately covered by any one source. The history can be best studied in several publications : Mackay, The Burgh of Canongate; Malcolm, "The Incorporation of the Cordiners"; E.R.B.E.; Wood, Book of Records; and Wood, Canongate Court Book 1569-1573 (Edin, 1937).
17. Mackay, The Burgh of Canongate, p. 162.

(ii) BURGH MAGISTRATES

A) COMPOSITION

18. Makey, The Church of the Covenants, p. 150; Mackay, The Burgh of Canongate, p. 14-22.
19. E.R.B.E. 1681-1689 p. 29, 54, 84, 123, 189, 227, 247.
E.R.B.E. 1689-1701 p. 2, 17, 47, 77, 104, 110, 135, 136, 159, 182, 207, 220.
 Edinburgh City Archives, Acts of the Bailies of the Canongate Vol. 4 24th April 1694 - 9th March 1732 and Vol. 6 6th October 1691 - 28th April 1694.
20. Makey, The Church of the Covenants, p. 150; Malcolm, "The Incorporation of the Cordiners", p. 131-2.
21. E.C.A., Minutes of the Incorporation of Baxters.
22. Malcolm, "The Incorporation of the Cordiners", p. 117-119.
23. E.R.B.E. 1689-1701 p. 2 (17th April 1689).

B) JURISDICTION

24. Mackay, The Burgh of Canongate, Ch. 3.
25. G.S. Pryde, "The Burgh Courts and Allied Jurisdictions" in An Introduction to Scottish Legal History 20 (1958) p. 384-395.

26. Pryde, "The Burgh Courts", p. 388-9.
27. P. McIntyre "The Franchise Courts" in An Introduction to Scottish Legal History 20 (1958) p. 374-383 - "A lord of regality is Regulus, a little king, and takes off the people from an immediate dependence upon the king". Mackenzie, Observations 47.
28. S.R.O. JC/2/18 The High Court of Justiciary, 21st December 1691. A case involving Robert Sawers (gardiner) and his son, Simon.
29. E.C.A. Council Books of Canongate, Acts of the Bailies of the Canongate 4 and 6; Act or Regality Books, Diet Books and Bonds of Caution 2, 3, 4; McLeod Misc. Papers, Bundle 1517-1739, Rolls of the Head Court 1687-1700, Bundle 1566-1854, Acts of the Magistrates of Canongate 1593-1710.
30. Wood, Canongate Court Book.
31. Mackay, The Burgh of Canongate, Ch. 6.
32. E.C.A. Diet Books 3 9th May 1691.
33. E.C.A. Diet Books 3 10th May 1691.
34. E.C.A. Diet Books 4 22nd October 1692.
35. E.C.A. Diet Books 4 22nd October 1692. Janet Johnston may have been Nicholas Edwards' sister-in-law.
36. E.C.A. Diet Books 3 9th May 1691.
37. E.C.A. Head Court 1693-1694.
38. E.C.A. Head Court 1687-1700, June 1696.
39. A wizard was still active in the Canongate in 1671 and claimed to be able to discover the identities of thieves - R. Mitchison, Life in Scotland (London, 1978) p. 52 and Mackay, The Burgh of Canongate, Ch. 10.
40. E.C.A. Head Court 1693-1694, March 1693.
41. E.C.A. Head Court 1687-1700.
42. In some cases these were described as "Session Bailies". See R.M. Graham, "Ecclesiastical Discipline in the Church of Scotland 1660-1730", Glasgow Ph.D. (1964) Ch. 3, p. 53.
43. E.C.A. Acts of the Bailies, 6 19th August 1693.

44. Fornication 1567; Blasphemy 1581, 1661, 1695; Adultery 1563, 1581; Drunkenness 1617, 1661; Cursing 1661; Profaneness 1689, 1694, 1695, 1696, 1700; Irregular Baptisms and Marriages 1695. See Graham, "Ecclesiastical Discipline", p. 43, and H.M.S.O. Acts of Parliament of Scotland 1424-1707 (1966).
45. E.C.A. Diet Books 4, May 1691.
46. E.C.A. Acts of the Bailies 6, 19th August 1693.
47. K.E. Wrightson, "Two Concepts of Order" in J. Brewer and J. Styles (eds), An Ungovernable People (London, 1980) p. 21-46.
48. E.C.A. Head Court 1687-1700.
49. E.C.A. Head Court 1693-1694.

C) OTHER BUSINESS

50. E.C.A. Head Court 1687-1700, 27th September 1690.
51. E.C.A. Extracts from the Magistrates.
52. E.C.A. Head Court 1687-1700, October 1688.
53. E.C.A. Head Court 1687-1700, 1696.
54. E.C.A. Acts of the Bailies 4, 13th May 1695.
55. "It was common course to put the office upon the poorest and weaker sort" The Exact Constable by E.W. (1660) p. 10, quoted in E. Trotter, XVII Century Life in the Country Parish (Camb, 1919) Ch. 5.
56. E.C.A. Head Court 1693-1694.

(iii) INCORPORATIONS

A) HISTORY

57. Wood, "Book of Records", p. 4. Hammermen 1535/6; Baxters 1536; and Cordiners 1538.
58. For the history of the Guilds in the Canongate read: Malcolm, "Incorporation of the Cordiners"; M. Wood, "The Hammermen of the Canongate" B.O.E.C. 19 and 20; W.H. Marwick, "The Incorporation of Tailors of the Canongate" B.O.E.C. 22 (1938); Mackay, The Burgh of the Canongate, p. 89-100.
59. J.S. Marshall, "Scottish Trade Incorporations and the Church" S.C.H.S.R. 19 (1975-77) p. 93-109.

60. E.C.A. Burgh of Canongate Misc. Records, Incorporation of Weavers Sederunt Book 1610-1713, 10th September 1691.
61. A.I. Cameron, "The Canongate Crafts : An Agreement of 1610" B.O.E.C. 14 (1925) p. 25-44.
62. E.C.A. Burgh of Canongate Misc. Records, Incorporation of Baxters Sederunt Book 1537-1819, 27th July 1696; Weavers, 12th April 1690.
63. E.R.B.E. 1681-1689, 8th and 15th February 1686.
64. E.C.A. Burgh of Canongate Misc. Records, Incorporation of Hammermen Sederunt Book 1613-1687, 6th February 1686. This was before the Act was passed in council. Obviously it was known about in advance.
65. For the history of the crafts' relationship with the burgh magistrates see : Mackay, The Burgh of Canongate; Malcolm, "Incorporation of the Cordiners"; Wood, "Book of Records".
The actual events are somewhat confused as different historians vary in their assessment of the outcome of the conflicts. Thus Mackay suggests that the Canongate privileges stood unharmed while others including Wood and E.R.B.E. show that the superiors succeeded in regaining some of their rights.

B) OFFICIALS

66. S.R.O. GD1/14 - 1 The Minutes of the Cordiners, 3rd May 1686. Eight masters were selected from a leet of sixteen. One was selected by the deacon and by the boxmaster. A leet of three was drawn up for the election of both deacon and boxmaster.
67. Malcolm, "Incorporation of Cordiners", p. 133.
68. Wood, "The Hammermen of the Canongate", p. 89.
69. E.C.A. see the Minutes of the various Incorporations.
70. Malcolm, "Incorporation of Cordiners", p. 104.
71. S.R.O. The Minutes of the Incorporation of Cordiners, 27th August 1693.

C) THE RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE INCORPORATIONS

72. E.C.A. Burgh of Canongate Misc. Records, Incorporation of Wrights Sederunt Book I 1630-1690, 18th May 1688. The length of apprenticeship in the Coupars varied between five and seven years.

73. Some of the rules instituted by the Weavers were recorded in their minutes on 20th June 1695.
74. Details of 'essays' can be found in S.R.O. GD 1/14 - 1, The Minutes of the Incorporation of Cordiners and E.C.A. Minutes of the Coupers.
75. The bailies ordered the deacon of the Fleshers to inspect the meat every day but it is not know if this was carried out. E.C.A., Acts of the Bailies, 24th September 1696.
76. E.C.A. Baxters, 12th June 1696. This was the only reference to the effects of the Seven Ill Years. If the grain in the main city was reduced by fifty percent even when close to a port, the situation must have been serious.
77. E.C.A. Coupers, 2nd May 1688. "John Douglas, wright in Dalne and was admitted to N. Leith, frieman".
78. E.C.A. Weavers, 12th April 1690.
79. On 21st April 1687 John Square abused the deacon. In the interest of fairness the deacon handed over control of the meeting to his assistant who decided that Square should be fined £6. If he did not he was to be fined £6. He was not fully forgiven until 3rd April 1689.
80. E.C.A. Baxters, 23rd December 1693. Paine of fine 40/=. When a freeman spoke it was to be to the deacon with "all decency and order".
81. E.C.A. Hammermen, 10th May 1686 and Minutes of the Baxters, 21st and 28th October 1696.
82. E.C.A. Baxters, 10th October 1696.
83. E.C.A. Weavers, January 1686, 16th February 1689, 12th April 1690, and 19th January 1692.
84. E.C.A. Baxters, 27th July 1696.
85. E.C.A. Coupers, 3rd May 1691. The Baxters also recorded payment of 4,000 merkes to Widow Craw and her family on 10th October 1696. The money had to be borrowed in the first instance.
86. E.C.A. Coupers, 14th December 1695, and Weavers, 24th November 1691.
87. E.C.A. Weavers, 22nd November 1690.
88. E.C.A. Weavers, 3rd August 1694.
89. E.C.A. Weavers, 10th September 1691. The deacon and baxter were to obtain 400 merkes for a seat in the new Kirk.

CHAPTER FIVE

(i) THE FABRIC OF THE PARISH

1. The best history of the parish is E.A. Webb, The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew's the Great 2 vols. (London, 1921).
2. Webb, St. Bartholomew's, I 274-6.
3. Webb, St. Bartholomew's, I 285-6.
4. Webb, St. Bartholomew's, I 262-4, II Plate XLIX.
5. Webb, St. Bartholomew's, II 395.
6. V. Pearl, London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution (London, 1961) p. 32.
7. R. Finlay, "The Population of London 1580-1650", Camb. Ph.D. see The Settlement of Tithes 1638 (Lambeth Palace Library).
8. See Map 2.
9. J. Strype, A Survey of the Cities of London and Westminster . . . enlarged by J.S. (1754) III 757.
10. Webb, St. Bartholomew's, I 311.
11. N. Brett James, The Growth of Stuart London (London, 1935).
12. P.R.O. Rentaland Surveys R.O. Portfolio 11/39 Middx. A Survey of the Liberties of Great St. Bartholomew and Cloth Faire there being part of the inheritance of Sir Henry Rich Knight. Made and taken in November 1616 by Gilbert Thacker.
13. M.J. Power, "East London Housing" in P. Clark and P. Slack (eds), Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700 (London, 1972) p. 250. This concept rated on Shadwell - an area of middling prosperity.
14. Webb, St. Bartholomew's, II 234.
15. Power, "East London Housing", p. 247.
16. Finlay, "Population of London".
17. P.R.O. E 179 - 147/627 Hearth Tax 1666 (f 145 - 157).
18. Webb, St. Bartholomew's, I 311.
19. Webb, St. Bartholomew's, I Ch. XI.

20. Bartholomew Faire or Variety of Fancies where you may find a Faire of Wares all to please your mind (1641) Guildhall Library.
21. Webb gives several explanations of the title. Blackstone believed it was due to the dusty feet of the suitors; Sir Edward Coke because justice was done as quickly as dust fell to the floor, while Daines Barrington believed that the name derived from 'pied puldreaux' (pedlar). Webb, St. Bartholomew's, I 306.
22. H.B. Wheatley (ed), The Diary of Samuel Pepys 8 vols. (London, 1904-1905) vii 367, 400, 403, 405. It is debatable whether Pepys was more interested in the books or the mother of the book seller.
23. Wards London Spy (1699). Guildhall Library.
24. Bartholomew Faire or Variety of Fancies
25. A.B. Osbourne, Bartholomew, Frost and Suburb Fair. Guildhall Library.
26. Bartholomew Faire or Variety of Fancies
27. Reasons formerly published for the punctual limitting of Bartholomew Fair (1708, rep. 1711). Guildhall Library. The book of postures was probably Aretinos Postures - a Venetian classic and the 17th century Kama Sutra. See R. Thompson, Unfit for Modest Ears (London, 1979).
28. An Account of the Last Bartholomew Fair (1702).
29. The Wandering Whore. This was more of a manual than 'anti-porn' leaflet. Dealt with, inter alia, gadgets, contraception and fetishes.
" . . . did you piss presently after your work was over, to prevent his getting you with Childe? . . . I know no better way or remedy more safe than pissing presently to prevent French Pox, Gonorrhea, the perilous infirmity of Burning or getting with Childe, which is the approved maxim amongst Venetian Courtiers and Courtezanans".
30. The Wandering Whore, it also lists some of the pornographic books of the period - Lusty Drollery; Venus Cabinet Unlocked; Craft Whore; Venereal Spy; Practical Part of Love.
31. See Chapter Seven.
32. Reasons formerly published
33. G. Salgado, The Elizabethan Underworld (London, 1977).

(ii) ECONOMIC STRUCTURESA) CRAFTS AND OCCUPATIONS

34. J.R. Kellet, "The Breakdown of Guild and Corporation Control . . . " Ec.H.R. 2nd Ser. 10 (1957-8) p. 381-394;
W. Herbert, Twelve Great Livery Companies (London, 1837);
D. George, London Life (London, 1930) Ch. 4.
35. J. Patten, English Towns, p. 160. "Nowhere is the decline of guild control . . . more evident than in London."
36. C.L.P.R.O. Lord Mayor's Waiting Books and Mansion House Justice Hall.
37. Pearl, London and the . . . Puritan Revolution, p. 23-29.
38. Pearl, and Webb, St. Bartholomew's, II 395.
39. Herbert, Livery Companies.
40. In the Guildhall, for example, $\frac{15,857}{1}$ Grocers; $\frac{6648}{2 \& 3}$,
 $\frac{6657}{1}$ Innholders; $\frac{8051}{2 \& 3}$ Joiners; Microfilm 297-364
Merchant Tailors.
41. B. Lillywhite, London Coffee Houses (London, 1963).
42. Wheatley, Pepys Diary, for example II 59, V 165, and VII 312 and 342.
43. Webb, St. Bartholomew's, II 287 from Sloane Mss 856f6b.
44. Glass, "Socio-Economic Status", Table 1.
45. George, London Life, p. 112-113.
46. W. Kennedy, English Taxation 1640-1799 (London, 1964).
47. P.R.O. 1666 Hearth Tax.
48. See "The Fabric of the Parish" in Chapters Two and Five.
49. A.C.B. Urwin, Population and Housing 1664; Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City; Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety. These are examples of the work done by historians with the aid of various types of tax roll.
50. Glass, "Socio-Economic Status", p. 220.
51. C.L.P.R.O. Box 14.19 1690 Poll Tax and Box 41.3 1692 Poll Tax.

52. Glass, "Socio-Economic Status", p. 221.
53. See "The Fabric of the Parish".
54. It has been suggested that the aim of this tax was not to raise money but to act as a census. D.V. Glass, (introduction), London Inhabitants within the Walls London Record Society 2 (1966) p. xiii.
55. Glass, "Socio-Economic Status", p. 219.
56. See transcripts in Appendix B.
57. See transcripts in Appendix B.
58. Guildhall, Ms. 9052 Box 25-31, Act Book 14/182, Thomas Harlowe (8th September 1686).
59. Act Book 15/26, Chas Bainbridge (2nd August 1688).
60. P.R.O. P.C.C. PROB 11 - (122) Barbara Doncaster.
61. Act Book 15/209, Thomas Scott (11th October 1692).
62. John Carey, An Essay on the State of England (1695).
63. C.L.P.R.O. Session Books S.M. 57, July 1686 and 29th June 1687.

(iii) DEMOGRAPHY

A) POPULATION SIZE

64. T.H. Hollingsworth, Historical Demography (London, 1969) Ch. 5.
65. Guildhall Library, Parish Registers - A handlist. Ms. 6780 Burials; Ms. 6778 Baptisms I; Ms. 6777 Register General II.
66. Jones and Judges, "London Population", p. 49 and 51.
67. Chapter Two, p.
68. Finlay, "Population of London", p. 38.
69. "No Londoner's life would have centred entirely on one parish and in this sense all single-parish studies will be defficient", Finlay, "Population of London", p. 59.
70. Guildhall, MS. 3989 Unit 1, Church Warden Accounts 1697-98 (21st February 1698).
71. Ms. 6777 II.

72. See Chapter Two.
73. J. Graunt, Natural and Political Observations made upon the Bills of Mortality (1662); G. King, Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England (1695).
74. M. Power, "The Urban Development of East London 1550-1700" London Ph.D. (1971).
75. J.T. Klause, "The Changing Adequacy of English Registration 1690-1837" in Glass and Eversley, Population in History (London, 1965) p. 383.
76. See the previous section.
77. D.V. Glass quoted in P. Laslett, "The Study of Social Structure from Listings of Inhabitants" in E.A. Wrigley (ed), Introduction to Historical Demography (London, 1966) p. 174.
78. MacFarlane, Historical Communities, p. 7.
79. Laslett and Wall, Household and Family, Ch. 4.
80. Laslett and Wall, Household and Family, p. 133, Table 4.2, Measure 3.
81. Laslett and Wall, Household and Family, p. 197, Table 5.7.
82. Laslett and Wall, Household and Family, p. 132.
83. D.M. Palliser, Tudor York (Oxford, 1979) p. 113.
84. Finlay, "Population of London", Ch. 4.
85. C.L.P.R.O. Box 14.9 1690 Poll Tax; Box 41.3 1692/3 Poll Tax; Box 34.32 1696 Window Tax; Guildhall Ms. 4047/4a-b 1696 Poor Rate; P.R.O. Lay Sub Hearth Tax 147/627 1666 Hearth Tax.
86. " . . . the monument of goodness erected by their majesties in the hearth of the Englishman's was darkened by the appearance of the tax-gatherer at his window", S. Dowdell, quoted in W. Kennedy, English Taxation.
87. P. Slack, "Poverty and Politics in Salisbury 1597-1666" in Clark and Slack, Crisis and Order.
88. Finlay, "Population of London", Ch. 5.

B) IMMIGRATION

89. P. Clark, "The Migrant in Kentish Towns 1580-1640" in Clark and Slack, Crisis and Order; E.A. Wrigley, "A Simple Model".

90. F.J. Fisher, "The Development of the London Food Markets 1540-1640" Ec.H.R. 1st Ser. 5 (1935) p. 46-64.
91. William Petty lists various reasons for growth - 1660-1670 The attraction of the King's friends and his Party; 1670-1680 The number of plots and Parliaments attracted people.
92. Ms. 3989 Unit 1.
93. Ms. 6777 II.
94. Ms. 6780.
95. Guildhall, Ms. 9052 Box 25-31; P.R.O. Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills, British Record Soc. 77 and 80.
96. P.R.O. Prob 11 - 229, Hugh Bantock.
97. Prob. 11 - 88, Thomas Bantock.

C) HOUSEHOLD STRUCTURE

98. Webb, St. Bartholomew's, II 234.
99. O.U. A322 Unit 11, p. 85; Slack, "Vagrants and Vagrancy in England 1598-1664" Ec.H.R. 2nd Ser. 27 (1974) p. 360-379.
100. Laslett and Wall, Household and Family, p. 144 and 152, Tables 4.10 and 4.13; Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City, p. 222; see also Chapter Two.
101. "Service was practically a universal characteristic of pre-industrial society", Laslett, The World We Have Lost p. 16. He also estimates that one third to one quarter of houses had servants.
102. The majority of lodgers were single and it was extremely uncommon for there to be married 'living-in' servants.
103. O.U. D301 Unit 5, p. 32.
104. Laslett and Wall, Household and Family, p. 145, Table 4.7, p. 148, Table 4.10, p. 152, Table 4.13; Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City, p. 200, Table 13.

CHAPTER SIX

(i) "GUTTILING KNAVES" - THE COMPOSITION OF THE VESTRY

1. The best history of parish government can be found in S. and B. Webb, English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporation Act (London, 1906) I.
2. Ned Ward, Parish Guttlers or Humours of a Vestry, p. 19 (Guildhall Library).
3. Webbs, English Local Government, I 175-190.
4. Webbs, English Local Government, I 190-196.
5. Webbs, English Local Government, I 190 n.1.
6. Webbs, English Local Government, I 195.
7. Guildhall, Ms. 3990 Vol. I, The Minutes of the Vestry of St. Bartholomew's the Great; Lambeth Palace Lib., Chartae Miscellanae vii p. 36.
8. Webbs, English Local Government, I 212-3.
9. E.A. Webb suggests a figure of around thirty in The Records of St. Bartholomew's II 391. Signatures of thirty-two members were discovered in the minutes, but rarely more than half that number at any one meeting.
10. Webbs, English Local Government, I 40.
11. Ward, Parish Guttlers.
12. Webbs, English Local Government, I 238 n.3.
13. C.L.P.R.O. Box 14.19 1690 Poll Tax; No. 99 1965 Marriage Tax.
14. Guildhall, Ms. 3989 Unit 1, Church Warden Accounts 29th July 1697.
15. C.W.A. 16th August 1697.
16. Webbs, English Local Government, I 18.
17. V.M. 21st December 1688.
18. V.M. 21st December 1689, see Mr. Jacob Cranfield.
19. V.M. 19th April 1688.
20. C.W.A. 19th October 1685.

21. C.W.A. 14th May 1697.
22. C.W.A. 23rd July 1697.
23. C.W.A. 17th November 1685 is one example.
24. Phythian-Adams, Desolation of a City, p. 183-4.

(ii) THE JUDICIAL AND MORAL RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE VESTRY

A) PARISH CONTROL

25. Details of the vestry's functions can be found in, inter alia: J.S. Cockburn (ed), Crime in England 1500-1800 (London, 1977); Webbs, English Local Government I; E. Trotter, XVII Century Life in a Country Parish (Camb, 1919).
26. Information on the church counts can be found in C. Hill, Society and Puritanism in Pre-Revolutionary England (London, 1964) p. 298-343; R. Marchant, The Church Under the Law (Camb, 1969); J.A. Sharpe, "Crime and Delinquency in an Essex Parish 1600-1640" in Cockburn, Crime in England.
27. J.A. Sharpe, "Enforcing the Law in the Seventeenth Century English Village" in V.A.C. Gatrell, B. Lenman and G. Parker, Crime and the Law (London, 1981) p. 111.
28. Many of the visits would have been merely to swear in new officers while others would have concerned the enforcement of the poor laws.
29. C.W.A. 10th June 1697.
30. C.W.A. 5th December 1685.
31. C.W.A. 17th July 1694.
32. C.W.A. 15th July and 26th August 1697.
33. V.M. 28th March 1693.
34. C.W.A. 10th August 1694.
35. C.W.A. 3rd January 1698.
36. Webb, St. Bartholomew's, II 326.
37. M.J. Ingram, "Communities and Courts : Law and Disorder in Early Seventeenth Century Wiltshire" in Cockburn, Crime in England.
38. K.E. Wrightson, "Two Concepts of Order : justices,

constables and jurymen in 17th century England" in J. Brewer and J. Styles, An Ungovernable People (London, 1980) p. 25.

39. Sharpe, "Crime and Delinquency".
40. Guildhall, Ms. 9060, Archdeacon's Court-Assignations.
41. Archdeacon's Court-Assignment f5.
42. C.S.P.D. p. 246-7 16th October 1685, Entry Bk 336; p. 342 16th May 1686, S.P. 44/54.
43. Archdeacon's Court f5.
44. Guildhall, Ms. 9060 (Vol. 3 and 4), Archdeacon's Court; Ms. 9057 (Vol. 2), Ms. 9059 (Vol. 5 and 6), Ms. 9060 and Ms. 9062 (Bundles 16 - 25).
45. V.M. 29th July 1692.
46. V.M. 20th April 1686.
47. C.W.A. 14th March 1698.
48. C.W.A. 30th June 1685.

B) PARISH ADMINISTRATION

49. Webbs, English Local Government, III 588.
50. C.W.A. 23rd July 1697.
51. V.M. 27th October 1685.
52. C.L.P.R.O. Lord Mayor's Waiting Book 14 (1684-1686) 28th January 1684/5.
53. F.H.W. Sheppard, Local Government in St. Marylebone, p. 34.
54. V.M. 21st September 1694.
55. C.W.A. 23rd July 1697.
56. V.M. 16th April 1691.
57. C.W.A. 14th August 1693.
58. C.W.A. 2nd July 1685, 23rd March 1694, 29th July 1697.
59. C.W.A. 28th May 1694.
60. C.W.A. 16th May 1694.

(iii) POOR RELIEFA) HISTORY

61. E.M. Leonard, The Early History of the English Poor Relief (London, 1965) p. 280-290; R. Mitchison, "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law" P. & P. 63 (1974) p. 58.
62. See Chapter Three.
63. Mitchison, "Old Scottish Poor Law"; G.W. Oxley, Poor Relief in England and Wales 1601-1834 (London, 1974); 1597 39 Eliz c3, 4 and 24 ad 1601 43 Eliz c2.
64. Details on the history of the English Poor Law can be found in Mitchison, "Old Scottish Poor Law"; Leonard, English Poor Relief; Oxley, Poor Relief in England and Wales; G. Nicholls, A History of the English Poor Law 2 Vols. (New York, 1854, rep. 1967); J.J. and A.J. Bagley, English Poor Law (London, 1966).
65. Leonard, English Poor Relief, Ch. 3.
66. Oxley, Poor Relief in England and Wales, p. 19-20 and 41.
67. Leonard, English Poor Relief, Ch. 7.

B) ATTITUDES

68. V.M. 6th January 1693.
69. Although now rather dated, some idea of the new 'Puritan' attitudes can be found in C. Hill, Society and Puritanism, Ch. 7, and "Puritans and the Poor" P. & P. 2 (1952) p. 32-50.
70. Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety, Ch. 7; Hill, "Puritans and the Poor".
71. C.W.A. 29th July and 7th December 1697.
72. C.W.A. 17th February 1698.
73. C.W.A. 12th April 1697.
74. C.W.A. 14th September 1685.
75. D. Marshall, The English Poor Law in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1926) p. 59.
76. C.W.A. 21st March 1688.
77. C.W.A. 2nd November 1697.
78. C.W.A. 28th August and 8th October 1697.

79. Marshall, The English Poor Law, p. 213.
80. C.W.A. 10th June 1697.
81. C.W.A. 2nd June 1697.
82. C.W.A. 6th May 1697.
83. C.W.A. 16th June 1697.
84. C.W.A. 22nd December 1697.
85. "The dominating fear after the Restoration was the increase of Poor people in London", D. George, London Life, p. 71.

C) RESOURCES

86. C.W.A. 10th and 12th July 1697.
87. Guildhall, Ms. 4047 a-b, 1696.
88. Guildhall, Ms. 4005.
89. V.M. 8th April 1686.
90. V.M. 21st August 1690.
91. Trotter, XVII Century Life, Ch. 4.
92. Webb, St. Bartholomew's, II 564-5.
93. C.W.A. 17th June 1697.

D) WHO WAS ASSISTED?

94. Guildhall, Ms. 4005, Preachers Book; Ms. 4010, Parish Apprentice Indentures 1694-1813; Ms. 4024, Removal of Paupers 1698-1837; Ms. 4025, Miscellaneous; Ms. 4029, Wills 1563-1830; Ms. 4080, Bonds of Indemnity; Ms. 4047, Poor Rate 1696; Ms. 4028, Collected Papers; Ms. 6056, Sextons Accounts. Because of its more interesting nature, Mr. Laming's accounts will be used whenever possible.
95. Ingram, "Communities and Courts", p. 133.
96. Guildhall, Ms. 4048.
97. V.M. 28th April 1696.
98. Webb, St. Bartholomew's, II 244.
99. V.M. 21st September 1694.

100. C.W.A. 14th July 1697.
101. C.W.A. 17th January 1698.
102. C.W.A. 14th August 1697.
103. C.W.A. 1st May 1693.
104. C.W.A. 28th May 1694.
105. C.W.A. 24th March 1688.
106. C.W.A. 12th April 1697.
107. C.W.A. 24th August 1697.
108. V.M. 9th February and 22nd December 1686.
109. C.W.A. 24th August 1697.
110. C.W.A. 6th August 1697.
111. C.W.A. 30th October 1694.
112. C.W.A. 14th August 1697.
113. C.W.A. 20th September 1697.
114. C.W.A. 18th and 30th October 1694.
115. C.W.A. 21st August 1694.
116. C.W.A. 9th February 1698.
117. C.W.A. 9th February 1698.
118. C.W.A. 11th May 1698.
119. C.W.A. 20th September 1697 and 10th November 1688.
120. C.W.A. 14th June 1697.
121. Mrs. Broughton, 21st June 1685; Robt. Williams wife, 7th August 1697; Rebecca Whitehead 5/= with feasting, 11th October 1697; and Hews 3/=, 22nd August 1693.
122. C.W.A. 1st June and 17th October 1685.
123. C.W.A. 17th June and 14th August 1697.
124. C.W.A. 4th May 1685 and 11th August 1693.
125. C.W.A. 9th May 1685 and 19th May 1697.

146. J.S. Taylor, "The Impact of the Pauper Settlement 1691-1834" P. & P. 73 (1976) p. 42-74, gives a balanced view of the effect of the settlement laws.
147. Marshall, English Poor Law, Ch. 2 and 4.
148. D. Defore, Giving Alms No Charity (1704).
149. Oxley, Poor Relief in England and Wales, p. 16; Slack "Poverty and Politics".
150. Marshall, English Poor Law, p. 250.

CHAPTER SEVEN

(i) BACKGROUND

1. Details about the duties of the constable can be found in : Sydney and Beatrice Webb, English Local Government from the Revolution to the Municipal Corporations Act (London, 1906) I "The Parish and the County"; E. Trotter, XVII Century Life in the Country Parish (Camb, 1919), Ch. 5; E.G. Dowdell, A Hundred Years of Quarter Sessions : The Government of Middlesex from 1660 to 1760 (Camb, 1932); and K.E. Wrightson, "Two Concepts of Order" in J. Brewer and J. Styles (eds) An Ungovernable People (London, 1980).
2. Guildhall Library, Ms. 3989 Unit 1, Churchwarden Accounts. See for example 6th August 1697.
3. James Gyffon, The Song of the Constable (1626), quoted in Trotter, XVII Century Life, p. 105.
4. E.W., The Exact Constable (1660), p. 10, quoted in Trotter, XVII Century Life, p. 105.
5. K.E. Wrightson and D. Levine, Poverty and Piety in an English Village : Terling 1525 to 1700 (New York, 1979) p. 104-109.
6. Dowdell, A Hundred Years of Quarter Sessions, p. 19-20.
7. Guildhall Library, Ms. 3990, Vol. 1, Vestry Minutes of St. Bartholomew's the Great.
8. Trotter, XVII Century Life, p. 117 : "is it not possible that through the continual performance of the civic duties, as one generation succeeded another, men inherited from their fathers that instinct for government and order which is characteristic of the British people?".
9. K.E. Wrightson, "Two Concepts of Order", p. 30; and Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety, Ch. 5.
10. Wrightson, "Two Concepts of Order", p. 26.
11. Webbs, English Local Government, (1924) III.
12. Webbs, English Local Government, (1924) II 337-366.
13. V. Pearl, London and the Outbreak of the Puritan Revolution (London, 1961) p. 60
14. Webbs, English Local Governemnt, II 349-358; and J.H. Baker, "Criminal Courts and Procedure at Common Law 1550-1800" in J.S. Cockburn (ed) Crime in England

1500-1800 (London, 1977)

15. C.L.C.R.O. S.M. 57-65, Session Books. These recorded the business of the Quarter Session and Gaol Delivery.
16. C.L.C.R.O. Session Papers. These dealt with some of the business recorded in the Session Books in more detail. J.A. Sharpe has commented on some of the difficulties in "Crime and Delinquency in an Essex Parish 1600-1640" in Cockburn, Crime in England.
17. C.L.C.R.O. Mansion House Justice Room Charge Books (1686-89 and 1692-95), and Lord Mayor's Waiting Book 14 (1684-86) and 16 (1690-96).
18. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic
Parker, "The Ordinary of Newgates account of the behaviour . . . of . . . malefactors who were executed" (1693-1765).
- (ii) LORD MAYOR'S COURT AND MANSION HOUSE JUSTICE ROOM
19. Douglas Hay et al., Albions Fatal Tree : Crime and Society in 18th Century England (London, 1975) p. 32-33.
20. M.H.J.R. 17th February 1686/7.
21. M.H.J.R. 20th February 1686/7.
22. M.H.J.R. August 1686.
23. M.H.J.R. 17th January 1692/3.
24. M.H.J.R. 17th May 1687.
25. M.H.J.R. 4th September 1687.
26. M.H.J.R. 2nd May 1688.
27. M.R. Weissner, The Peasants of the Montes : The Roots of Rural Rebellion in Spain (Chicago, 1976) p. 81-83
28. M.H.J.R. 28th April 1692. See Chapter Five for contemporary opinions about the Fair.
29. M.H.J.R. 12th August 1692 and April 1695.
30. M.H.J.R. 16th June 1688, 8th April 1688 and 27th November 1687.
31. M.H.J.R. 15th and 16th June 1688 and 12th February 1688/9.
32. L.M.W.B. 25th May 1685.

33. L.M.W.B. 28th January 1684/5.
34. L.M.W.B. 5th April 1685.
35. L.M.W.B. The bookseller was one Nathaniel Dancer.
36. The importance of 'public opinion' was well illustrated in the "Newgate Gaol Ordinary". One Thomas Bucknell, accused of "stealing a leather purse value 2^d with £5.5.0 in moneys" was able to prove "further his credit by many of his neighbours, he was brought in Not Guilty" (16th July 1685).
37. L.M.W.B. 30th August 1685.

38. Parker, "Newgate Gaol, Ordinary" 19th October 1685.

39. L.M.W.B. 30th March 1684/5.

40. See Chapter Five.

(iii) THE COURT OF QUARTER SESSIONS

41. Webbs, English Local Government, II 349-359.
42. T.C. Curtis, "Quarter Session Appearances and their Background : A 17th Century Regional Study" in Cockburn, Crime in England, p. 152.
43. Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety, p. 118, Table 5.1.
44. Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety, p. 118, Table 5.1.
45. S.M. 58 6th December 1686; S.M. 61 16th February 1690/1; S.P. (Box 4) 16th January 1696/7 and 1695/6.
46. Weissner, Peasants of the Montes; and M.J. Ingram, "Communities and Courts : Law and Disorder in early-seventeenth century Wiltshire" in Cockburn, Crime in England.
47. S.P. (Box 2) 19th May 1692.
48. S.P. (Box 3) 7th January 1692/3.
49. S.P. (Box 2) 27th January 1691.
50. S.P. (Box 4) 25th February 1694/5.
51. Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety, Ch. 5.
52. S.M. 57 7th December 1685.
53. S.M. 63 4th December 1693.

54. Curtis, "Quarter Session Appearances", p. 135.
55. Weisser, Peasants of the Montes; and Wrightson and Levine, Poverty and Piety, p. 122.
56. S.M. 57 12th April 1686.
57. S.P. (Box 3) 4th January 1692/3. The Merry family also appeared in the Churchwarden's Accounts when the St. Bartholomew constable tried to move her on - unsuccessfully (C.W.A. 24th and 28th April 1693).
58. S.P. (Box 3) 17th February 1692/3.
59. S.M. 63 20th February 1692/3.
- (iv) PUNISHMENTS
60. M.H.J.R. 18th March 1686/7.
61. For example, M.H.J.R. 17th May 1687; L.M.W.B. 17th and 21st January 1685/6.
62. S.M. 59 29th August 1688.
63. S.M. 57 24th February 1685/6; S.M. 59 29th August 1688; S.M. 62 29th August 1692; and S.M. 59 5th December 1687.
64. J.M. Beattie, "The Pattern of Crime in England, 1660-1800" P. & P. 62 (1974) p. 47; D. Hay, "Property, Authority and the Criminal Law" in D. Hay et al., Albions Fatal Tree, p. 23.
65. S.M. 59 23rd April 1688.
66. S.M. 61 Anna Deane, 14th July 1690; and S.M. 62 Kathreen Davis, 27th June 1692.
67. S.M. 62 13th January 1692/3.
68. S.M. 61 14th July 1692.
69. S.M. 62 9th May 1692.
70. S.M. 62 20th February 1692/3.
71. S.M. 66 1st July 1695.
72. J.A. Sharpe, "Enforcing the law in the 17th Century English Village" in V.A.C. Gatrell, B. Lenman and G. Parker, Crime and the Law : The Social History of Crime in Europe since 1500 (London, 1980) p. 110-111.

73. S.M. 57 7th December 1685.
74. In the 1695 Marriage Tax, Peter Briggins was assessed at £600.
75. J.A. Sharpe, "Crime and Delinquency in an Essex Parish 1600-1640" in Cockburn, Crime in England, p. 96-97.
76. Sharpe, "Crime and Delinquency", p. 96.
- (v) BARTHOLOMEW FAIRE AND A VARIETY OF FANCIES
77. Bartholomew Faire or Variety of Fancies (1641).
78. The Times, 13th September 1840; Webbs, English Local Government, II 358-360; E.A. Webb, The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew's the Great, West Smithfield (London, 1921) I 306-7.
79. Reasons formerly published for the punctual limittimg of Bartholomews Fair (1708, rept. 1711).
80. M.H.J.R. 1686; and L.M.W.B. 28th July 1685.
81. L.M.W.B. 28th August 1685.
82. L.M.W.B. 2nd September 1685.
83. S.P. (Box 5) 1st September 1697.
84. C.W.A. 2nd April 1686.
85. T.R. Forbes, "Inquests into London and Middlesex Homicides 1673-1782" Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine 50.
86. C.S.P.D. 16th July 1685 Entry Bk. 54 p. 307 and 4th September 1685 Entry Bk. 336 p. 208.
87. C.S.P.D. 7th July 1692 H.O. Letter Bk. (Secretary's) 2, p. 500.
88. See Chapter Four.

CHAPTER EIGHT

(i) THE FABRIC OF THE PARISH

1. See Map 1 - Phillips Map.
2. Irish Builder, 15th June 1896.
3. I.B., 1st June 1896.
4. See Map 1.
5. N.L.I. Ms. 11622 - 11642.
6. N. Burke, "Dublin 1600-1800 - A Study in Urban Morphogenesis" Ph.D., T.C.D. (1972).
7. 1664 Hearth Tax - 316, see Burke, "Dublin 1600-1800"
1666 Hearth Tax - 340, William Petty. N.L.I. Walshe
Ms. 11623 I.B. 15th November 1895.
8. 1696 - 425, see John South, "Enumeration of Houses,
Hearths and People in Dublin" Philosophical Transactions
12 (1700-1701).
1671 - 416, 1682 - 395, Sir William Petty in Calendar
of the Ancient Records of Dublin (Dublin, 1895) V.*
9. Sir William Petty, in C. Maxwell, Dublin under the Georges
1714-1830 (London, 1946) p. 115.
10. R.A. Butlin, "The Population of Dublin in the late
Seventeenth Century" Irish Geography V (1965) p. 59.
11. M. Power, "The Urban Development of East London, 1550-
1700" Ph.D., London (1971).
12. Butlin, "The Population of Dublin", p. 62.
13. C.S.P.D. Before April 1686 S.P. 63/351 fols 319-23.
14. Dublin City Library, Wm. Monck-Mason, "Collection of
notes on the history of Dublin" I pt.1, p. 186.
15. See Chapter Five; and M. Power, "East London Housing
in the Seventeenth Century" in Clark and Slack, Crisis
and Order, p. 243-4.
16. N.L.I. Walshe Ms. 11623, Bride St. (1698).
17. I.B. 1st January 1896.
18. N.L.I. Walshe Ms. 11641, Ship St.

19. E. MacLysaght, Irish Life in the Seventeenth Century (Dublin, 1950) p. 200.
20. See Chapter Two, Section 1.
21. C.A.R.D. V 1686, p. 414.
22. D.C.L. Monday Books 8th October 1695, p. 174.
23. C.A.R.D. V 31st July 1691 and 11th September 1691, p. 523 and 524.
24. C.A.R.D. VI 20th October 1693, p. 41.
25. C.A.R.D. VI 19th October 1694, p. 78.
26. C.A.R.D. VI 19th October 1694, p. 79.
27. P.R.O. I M 2751 Street Repairs, 17th Century (Charles II) No. 49.
28. C.A.R.D. V 15th November and 23rd December 1687, p. 452 and 457.
29. C.S.P.D. 25th May 1692 S.P. Dom Petition Entry Bk. p. 297.
P. Meehan, "Early Dublin Public Lighting" Dublin History Review V.

(ii) DEMOGRAPHY

30. T.C.D. 1478 Marriage 1636-1700; 1479 Baptisms 1683-1800; 1480 Burial 1634-1800.
31. MacLysaght, Irish Life, p. 234; Friends Library Ms. 94 Friends Minutes 1671-1708; P.R.O. J M 7082 Minute Book 1667-1729.
32. The evidence from other tax rolls does not indicate that we can do this. See Butlin, "The Population of Dublin", p. 51-66.
33. Butlin, "The Population of Dublin", p. 51-66.
34. G. King, Natural and Political Observations and Conclusions upon the State and Condition of England (1696); J. Graunt, Natural and Political Observations made upon the Bills of Morality (1662); Petty based on the work of Graunt - see Butlin, "The Population of Dublin", p. 52; P.E. Jones and A.V. Judges, "London Population in the Late Seventeenth Century" Ec.H.R. 6 (1935) p. 45-61.
35. J.T. Krause, "The Changing Adequacy of English Registration 1690-1837" in D.V. Glass and D.E.C. Eversley Population in

History (London, 1965) p. 383.

36. See Chapters Two and Five.
37. T.C.D. Ms. $\frac{883}{1}$.
38. Butlin, "The Population of Dublin".
39. Butlin, "The Population of Dublin", p. 57.
40. N. Goose, "Household Size and Structure in Early-Stuart Cambridge" Social History 5 (1980) p. 347-386. Mr. Goose suggests that the size of the family did not greatly effect the M.H.S.
41. T.C.D. Ms. 2063.
42. Marsh's Lib. Ms. Z2.1.7 (39).
43. Mr. Goose defines an 'inmate' as a member of "a clear separate household, merely sharing a physical housing structure, occasionally . . . subsumed under other household groups.", Goose, "Household Size", p. 362.
44. See Chapter Five.
45. P. Slack, "Poverty and Politics in Salisbury 1597-1666" in Clark and Slack, Crisis and Order, p. 176.
46. Poor households were normally smaller, being made up of widows to a large extent.
47. See Figure 3 and Tables A-C.
48. T.C.D. Ms. 1480, 8th April and 8th August 1685.
49. A large number of infants died from June 1693 to March 1693/4. Also many examples of brothers and sisters dying at the same time - Hinds, January/February 1692/3, and the Rosdalls, December 1694/January 1694/5.
50. J.G. Simms, "The Restoration 1660-85" in Moody, Martin and Byrne, History of Ireland, p. 449.

(iii) ECONOMIC

A) GUILDS

51. MacLysaght, Irish Life, Appendix F; D.C.L. Gilbert Collection Ms. 81; and N.L.I. Ms. 11121 - 137 St. Lukes; D.C.L. Guild of Holy Trinity and N.L.I. Ms. 801, Extracts from the Accounts of Holy Trinity 1500-1746; P.R.O. I M 6118 (a,b) Dublin Feltmakers 1668-1771;

D.C.L. Gilbert Coll. Ms. 246 Abstract of Deeds of St. Annes C13-C18, Royal Irish Academy Ms. 12610 Extracts from Guild of St. Annes and Ms. 12013 Guild of St. Annes 1655-1687.

52. Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy 25 (1904-5); Sir John Ware in Hunting the Romish Fox (1683) claimed Wentworth showed "too great eagerness in searching the affairs of the fraternity". The guild had earlier been accused of dividing its funds between "its own members, Jesuit priests and popish friars".
53. J.G. Simms, "Dublin in 1685" Irish Historical Studies 14 (1964) p. 212-226.
54. D.C.L. Monday Books II 173, 2nd October 1693.
55. D.C.L. Gilbert Coll. Ms. 81, Guild, and St. Lukes, and P.R.O. I M 6118 (a,b,) Feltmakers
56. Simms, "The Restoration", p. 449.
57. MacLysaght, Irish Life, p. 224, n.105.
58. D.C.L. Assembly Rolls III August 1687.
59. C.A.R.D. VI 18th January 1694/5, p. 85.
60. R.I.A. Ms. 12013 The White Book of St. Annes Guild, p. 58.
61. D.C.L. Guild of Holy Trinity I, 167 14th January 1683.
62. N.L.I. Ms. 4634 Warrant against Hawkers, 1682.
63. D.C.L. St. Lukes 13th April 1693.
64. N.L.I. Ms. 76 - 79 Roll of Freemen.
65. I.B. 15th June 1896.
66. Marsh's Library Z2.1.7 (39) An Abstract of the Numbers of Protestants and Papists Able to Bear Arms in the City of Dublin, 1693.
67. Chapter One, p.16 for a list of some of the more important inhabitants.

B) WEALTH

68. The Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Record Office of Ireland. (26th and 30th Reports)
69. P.R.O. I Indexes to Perogative Court (Inventories);

Inquisitions, Deeds and Wills in Exchequer; Wills (Diocesan), Indexes to (fragments) 1536-1858; Inquisitions, Deeds and Wills in Chancery; Wills (Consistory) Dublin.

70. P.R.O. I Ms. 2469 (1696).
71. T.C.D. Ms. 2063 Assessment for £930 (1683); Assessment 1684; Poor Cess 1698-9.
72. Butlin, "The Population of Dublin".
73. Butlin, "The Population of Dublin" - 1664; T.C.D. Ms. $\frac{883}{1}$ Hearths, Houses and People - 1695/6.
74. Butlin, "The Population of Dublin", p. 53.
75. T. Laffan, cited by F.J. Holden in "Property Taxes in Old Dublin" Dublin History Review 13 (1952-4), quoted in Butlin, "The Population of Dublin", p. 54.
76. Butlin, "The Population of Dublin", p. 54.
77. W.G. Hoskins, Local History in England (London, 1959) p. 104.
78. Power, "East London Housing", p. 252, Table 15.
79. Butlin, "The Population of Dublin", p. 62, Table vi.
80. P.R.O. I Ms. 2469.

CHAPTER NINE

(i) INTRODUCTION

1. Mss. 1473 Accounts; Mss. 1476 Vestry Books; Mss. 2062 - 63 Extracts from Parish Registers (Monck-Mason C. 1818). All T.C.D.
Many of the copies were produced by historians as an aid to their own writings.
2. See the 26th and 30th Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Record Office of Ireland, for a summary of the documents lost.
3. Apart from the parish records, only a few documents give any glimpse into control. Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin (7 vols.); Monday Book; Assembly Roll.
4. E. MacLysaght, Irish Life, p. 202-4.
5. E. MacLysaght, Irish Life, briefly covers these topics. J. Starr, "Enforcing Law and Order in 18th Century Ireland" Ph.D., T.C.D.; Sir J. Gilbert, A History of Dublin 3 vols. (Dublin, 1854-59).

(ii) THE VESTRY

6. T.C.D. Mss. 1476 9th December 1679.
7. T.C.D. Mss. 1476 9th December 1679.
8. T.C.D. Mss. 2062 - 3 16th October 1673.
9. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 The first fine for office recorded was in 1693.
10. T.C.D. Mss. 1476 5th March 1695.
11. T.C.D. Mss. 1476 1693.
12. T.C.D. Mss. 2062 - 3 2nd April 1689.
13. William Carter - merchant; Stephen Conduit - merchant; Samuel Hinde - druggist.
14. P.R.O.I. M 5122. St. Catherines and St. James normally had around twenty members.
15. T.C.D. Mss. 1473. The Act was in 12 Geo I.

(iii) THE RELIGIOUS, MORAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE DUTIES OF THE VESTRY

16. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1670-71.

17. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1673-74 and 1681-82.
18. See Chapter Eight.
19. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
20. C.A.R.D. V 1685 Second Friday after Easter, p. 357.
21. T.C.D. Mss. 1476 17th January 1692/3.
22. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1686-1688.
23. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1685-1686.
24. T.C.D. Mss. 2062 - 3 18th October 1683.
25. A printed tract on St. Bride's Church in Mss. 1473.
26. T.C.D. Mss. 2962 - 3 6th November 1691 and 9th December 1692.
27. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1685-86 and 1686-88.
28. T.C.D. Mss. 2062 - 3 17th January 1692.
29. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1685-86.
30. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1693-94.
31. T.C.D. 1476 1693-4; and 1473 5th February and 15th February 1693.
32. T.C.D. Mss. 2062 - 3.
33. T.C.D. Mss. 1476 5th March 1695.
34. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1694-95.
35. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1699.
36. T.C.D. Mss. 1476 July 1693.

(iv) POOR RELIEF

A) HISTORY

37. Sir G. Nicholls, A History of the Irish Poor Law (London, 1856).
38. Nicholls, Irish Poor Law.
39. T.C.D. Mss. 1476.

B) THE ATTITUDE OF THE VESTRY

40. T.C..D Mss. 1473 1685-86.
41. J.P. Starr, "Enforcing Law and Order in 18th Century Ireland" Ph.D., T.C.D. (1968); Corporation Minute Book 9th October 1727.
42. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1693.
43. C. Maxwell, Dublin under the Georges 1714-1830 (London, 1946) p. 143; MacLysaght, Irish Life, p. 205.

C) RESOURCES

44. Chapters Four and Seven.
45. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1685-86. They cost 5/= to install.
46. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1693.
47. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
48. T.C.D. Mss. 2062 - 3 17th October 1673.
49. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1699.
50. T.C.D. Mss. 2062 - 3.
51. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1686-88 and 1693-94.
52. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1685-86 and 1693-94.

D) WHO RECEIVED ASSISTANCE?

53. T.C.D. Mss. 1473. The records do not indicate whether or not this was a weekly payment. If it was it was very generous.
54. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
55. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 10th April 1695.
56. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1681-82; Mss. 1476 1681.
57. Canongate - approximately 20; St. Bartholomew's - approximately 24.
58. T.C.D. Mss. 1476 29th March 1687.
59. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
60. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.

61. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1693-94.
62. T.C.D. Mss. 1476 The total for the year was £15.12.11.
63. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1685-86 and 1686-88.
64. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
65. T.C.D. Mss. 1476.
66. T.C.D. Mss. 1476.
67. T.C.D. Mss. 1476 Vestry Book f35.
68. T.C.D. Mss. 2062 - 3 22nd September 1690.
69. T.C.D. Mss. 1476 27th January 1691.
70. C.A.R.D. V 31st May 1688, p. 477.
71. C.A.R.D. V Fourth Friday after 24/6/1687, p. 442.
72. T.C.D. Mss. 1476.
73. T.C.D. Mss. 2062 - 3 16th May 1671.
74. T.C.D. Mss. 1476.
75. T.C.D. Mss. 1476 29th April 1692.
76. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
77. D.C.L. Monday Book 25th January 1683, Vol. I, p. 147.
78. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
79. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.

E) THE EFFECTIVENESS OF RELIEF

80. MacLysaght, Irish Life, p. 204-6; Maxwell, Dublin under the Georges, p. 122.
81. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
82. MacLysaght, Irish Life, p. 204.
83. C.A.R.D. V, p. 485, 4th October 1688.
- (v) THE QUAKERS
84. J.G. Simms, "Dublin in 1685" I.H.R. 14 (1965) p. 225.

85. Ms. 94 Friends Minutes 1671-1708; P.R.O.I. M 7082 Minute Book 1667-1729.
86. National Meeting Minutes (Portfolio 38).
87. N.M.M.
88. N.M.M. 19th December 1679 f8.
89. N.M.M. f39.
90. N.M.M. f37.
91. N.M.M. 12th September 1687 f26.
92. N.M.M. 16th June 1673 f6.
93. N.M.M. f34.
94. N.M.M. f24.
95. N.M.M. 9th September 1685 f24.
96. N.M.M. f36.
97. MacLysaght, Irish Life, p. 234.
98. C.A.R.D. V 4th December 1691.
99. In 1687 all friends in office were advised to lie low as renewed persecution was expected. N.M.M. 12th September 1687 f26.
100. MacLysaght, Irish Life, p. 234.

(vi) SECULAR CONTROL IN ST. BRIDE'S

A) SOURCES AND BACKGROUND

101. See the 26th and 30th Report of the Deputy Keeper of P.R.O.I.; and Margaret Griffith, "A Short Guide to the Public Record Office of Ireland" I.H.S. Vol. viii, No.29.
102. C.A.R.D. V and VI.
103. T.C.D. Ph.D. No. 53A.
104. MacLysaght, Irish Life, p. 47-73.
105. MacLysaght, Irish Life, p. 202-3.
106. D.C.L. Assembly Rolls 1687 p. 342.

B) THE CONSTABLE

107. C.A.R.D. III 1643, p. 418; C.A.R.D. IV 1670, p. 511;
C.A.R.D. VI 1693, p. 42; 17 and 18 CII c18 (J.P. Starr).
108. Monday Books II 2nd October 1693, p. 171 (10 and 11
CI c4).
109. C.A.R.D. V 14th May 1682, p. 587.
110. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
111. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
112. St. Mary's Vestry Book 23rd March 1769 (from Starr).
113. Starr, "Law and Order", Police outside Dublin City.
114. Starr, "Law and Order", St. Bride's Vestry Accounts 1774.
115. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
116. Starr, "Law and Order", St. Bride's Vestry Accounts,
November 1777.
117. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
118. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
119. Starr, "Law and Order", Ch. 1.
120. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
121. Starr, "Law and Order", Ch. 2 - Fuel and Lighting.
122. P.R.O.I. Proclamations f28 24th November 1689.
123. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
124. T.C.D. Mss. 1473.
125. T.C.D. Mss. 1476 Vestry Book.
126. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 17th July 1692.

(vii) THE PROBLEMS CREATED BY THE ROMAN CATHOLICS

127. Starr, "Law and Order", Ch. 1
128. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 printed tract.
129. J.G. Simms, "The War of the Two Kings 1685-91" in Moody,
Martin and Byrne, History of Ireland, p. 478-487.

- 130. C.A.R.D. V 20th October 1690; also P.R.O.I. Proclamations February 1688/89 f14, 20th July 1689 f19, 20th July 1689 f20, 26th July 1689 f20.
- 131. P.R.O.I. Proclamations 7th December 1688 f13.
- 132. T.C.D. Mss. 1473 1689-90.
- 133. See Monday Books; Assembly Roll; C.A.R.D.
- 134. C.A.R.D. VI 19th December 1692, p. 26.
- 135. P.R.O.I. Proclamations.
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- 137. Marsh's Library Z2.1.7 (39) - 1189 Protestants, 273 Catholics.
- 138. P.R.O.I. List of Priests 1697.

CHAPTER TEN

1. W. Makey, in The Church of the Covenants, does partly trace the origins of the kirk session members in Scotland.
2. E.M. Leonard, The Early History of English Poor Relief (London, 1965) p. 292, "Like causes led to like regulations in all three countries, [England, Scotland and France] but the regulations did not lead to the same result"; also Leonard, English Poor Relief, p. 277 and 292.
3. R. Nicholson, Scotland : The Later Middle Ages (Edin, 1974) p. 554.
4. Though direct English influence may have been greater during, for example, the reign of Edward I, it would be difficult to claim that Scotland was then a fully independent nation.
5. R. Mitchison, "The Making of the Old Scottish Poor Law" P. & P. 63 (1974) p. 58-93.
6. R.A. Butlin (ed), The Development of the Irish Town (London, 1977) p. 93-94.

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6. GD1/14 - 1 Minute Books of the Incorporation of Cordiners of the Canongate 1584-1773.
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Mss. 4029	Wills 1563-1830
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Mss. 4048	Collected Papers
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E179 - 147 - 627 // 145 - 157 Hearth Tax 1666

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A survaie of the libertie of Great St. Bartholomews and
Cloth faire there being part of the inheritance of
Sir Henry Rich, Kight. Made and taken in November 1616
by Gilbert Thacker.

(c) IRELAND

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